

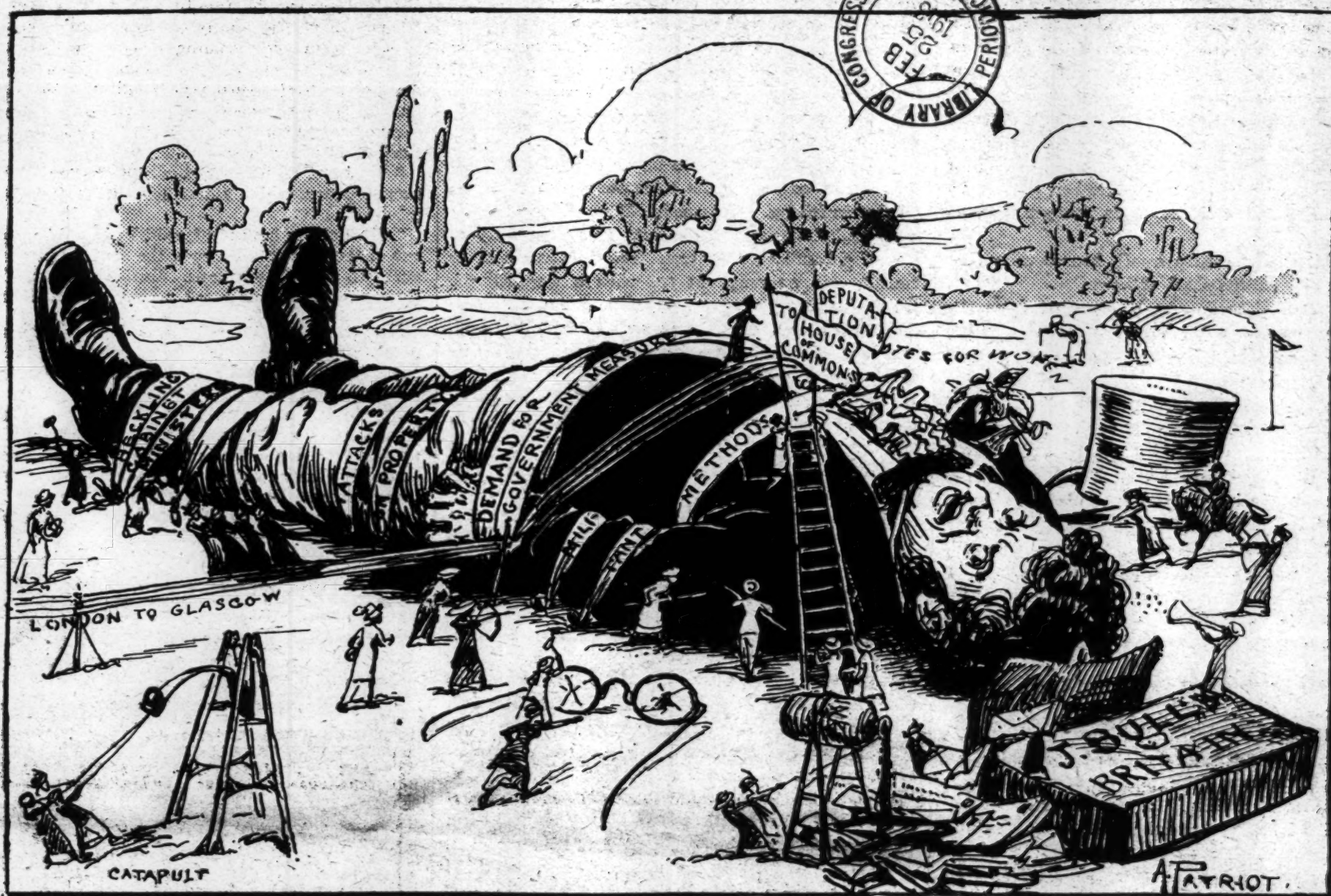
VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE

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THE AWAKENING OF GULLIVER JOHN BULL

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DEDICATION

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK

The tremendous interest in Parliament which centred in the question of Woman Suffrage a fortnight ago has temporarily disappeared, and M.P.'s are turning their attention to the prospect of a holiday coming at the end of a session of unprecedented length. Technically, the prorogation does not take place until March 7, and this will be followed almost immediately by the commencement of the new session and the reading of the King's Speech; but practically the session of 1912 is already at an end.

Campaigns of the Suffrage Societies

In the world outside Parliament the Suffrage societies are busy preparing their campaigns. The militants are the only ones who have so far shown great activity, and the ingenuity of the "outrages" which, in accordance with their definite policy, they have planned and executed has kept the Suffrage

question constantly before the public eye. The Federated Suffrage Societies held a united meeting in the Queen's Hall on Wednesday last, at which they registered with unanimity their indignation against the Government; but neither they nor the National Union of Suffrage Societies have so far outlined any constructive plan of action which they propose to adopt for the future.

The Liberal Women

Among women who have hitherto given their allegiance to the Liberal Party there are many signs of revolt. Many have already severed their connection with the Party; others before doing so are waiting to see whether they cannot carry the whole of their organisation with them in some vigorous action. Many, on the other hand, consider themselves tied to the Party by their personal relationship to Liberal M.P.'s or by their devotion to other planks in the Liberal programme. On page 288 we print a selection from the large number of letters we have received upon this subject in criticism of our leading article of last week.

Suffrage Ex-Prisoners on License

In the High Court the Judges have upheld the technical right of the Government to pursue Mrs. Leigh and Miss Gladys Evans with the police persecution adopted against ticket-of-leave prisoners; but they also expressed in no measured terms their disapproval of the course pursued by the police on behalf of the Government and the vindictive sentence imposed by the magistrate. Thus Judge Madden described the action of the police as "an uncalled for proceeding," and the Chief Baron commented on the sentence, saying that he should have supposed a punishment of half an hour's imprisonment would have met the case. It is to be hoped that in view of this moral condemnation of their action the Government will desist from further proceedings against Mrs. Leigh and Miss Evans, and that no

similar attempts to deal with other Suffrage prisoners will be made in the future.

Hunger Strikers in Ireland

We are informed that the Irish Suffrage prisoners who have adopted the hunger strike were induced to abandon the strike a few days ago owing to a promise that political treatment (for which they were striking) would be accorded to them. This promise has not been kept, only certain limited privileges having been granted; and they are, therefore, we understand, agitating again for full political rights. Meanwhile, one of their number, Mrs. Hoskin, has been released in a very serious condition. How long, we wonder, will it take Liberal Ministers to realise that such treatment is in direct conflict with every tradition of Liberalism?

Items of Interest

We call attention to Mr. McKenna's answers in the House of Commons to questions relating to forcible feeding. Such answers, as we are able to prove on page 289, are contrary to the established facts of the case. Equally incorrect are the statements which he made on Wednesday afternoon with regard to the condition of police court cells, and the manner in which women are conveyed in the prison vans to and from the courts.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's article of last week, "Militancy for Non-Militants," in which she sketched out a possible plan of campaign for those less advanced than herself, has roused considerable interest. Owing to lack of space several important letters relating to this subject are held over to next week.

Our readers will be interested in the special cable we have received from Miss Vida Goldstein from Australia urging the Labour Party to give support in this country to the Woman Suffragists as effective as that which was given by the Labour Party of Australia.

BILLY'S APOLOGIA

By Evelyn Sharp

Someone drew aside the curtain a little so that the sunlight fell across the bed. Then the door closed softly and Billy was left unprotected. He had never set eyes until to-day on the nurse who had just brought him upstairs, but now she had gone he felt that his last friend had deserted him. For the girl who lay on the bed was a stranger to him, a greater stranger, almost, than any girl he might have met at a dance and forgotten again in five minutes.

He could not get over the feeling of her being a stranger. The shaft of light that shone over her head, straight down the middle of the bed, reminded him of some old picture. He could not remember which picture; he was not good at remembering things of that sort. But it was one of many that Anna raved about in the old days when they went everywhere together—before she became a stranger to him. And here she was, lying in the middle of the picture herself; and he was standing like a fool on the threshold of it, afraid to speak to her, though she was only his sister, and two years younger than he was.

"You old silly!" said a small, hoarse voice that came from beyond the shaft of light.

Billy's brain cleared, and he emerged from the dimness by the door and plunged headlong into the picture. "Hello, old chap!" he found himself saying. "Going strong?"

"Oh, yes, thanks. How are you, Bill?"

"I'm all right, thanks. Glad you're all right, too," said Billy.

"That's all right," said Anna.

This sparkling duologue was succeeded by silence. He was inside the picture now, and it paralysed him afresh. The steadying effect of her voice had passed, and the stranger had come back into the room. For it was surely not the Anna he knew who lay there motionless, a kind of flame in the great eyes that stared and stared out of the small white face till they hurt him.

"I say, don't!" he burst out, and felt a greater ass than ever.

"It's all right," said Anna, soothingly. "It's really all right." She stroked his hand with slim, transparent fingers and laughed up at him. "Jolly nice of you to come, Billy. How's everyone?"

"Oh, all right," answered Billy. Then, with a supreme effort, "Anything I can do, Nan?"

The queer smile that flickered across her face when he said this puzzled him very much. It went on puzzling him after he left her; for the nurse came back almost immediately and took him away out of the picture again. Downstairs, on the doorstep, he became, for him, almost articulate.

"I say," he said to the nurse—she was very pretty, he noticed, but looked as if she were on the verge of laughing at him—"I say, we didn't know anything about it till—till you sent us that message this morning. We thought she was on a visit in the country. We—we hadn't an idea of it." The nurse nodded. His apologia was rather pathetic, she thought. Then he looked inside his hat (she wondered why men always looked inside their hats before they put them on), and he put it on very carefully and turned to go down the steps. "I'd like to shoot the whole bally lot," he said, as soon as his back was turned to her.

"Do," said the nurse, encouragingly. "And please begin with the Home Secretary."

She banged the door, and Billy felt confused. For, of course, he meant the Suffragette lot, who had come between him and Anna, and turned her into a stranger, and made her do things for which she was clearly not responsible. As for the Home Secretary—well, he couldn't let the women die, could he? All the same, Anna's smile haunted him all the way home.

In the old days, when he had been a beast to her, he used to make it up to her by giving her a present. It was true that he never felt quite sure that she did not expect something more than that; but he hated scenes, and it was the best he could do. But you could not offer a present to someone who looked like a saint in a picture. Besides, this time, he had not been a beast to her. Then why, in heaven's name, did he feel so uncomfortably conscious that he had got to make it up to her?

He might pay his debts, perhaps—some of them. That would certainly please her; she always made such a fuss about his bills. But it was rather absurd to start paying bills when even his tailor was keeping

quiet. It seemed still more absurd when he got home and looked into the matter, and found that in any case he could not possibly pay more than a fifth of what he owed. Without the guidance of a summons he simply did not know where to begin. Besides, if anyone got paid without having to dun him for it first, all the others would get restive. Sisters couldn't be expected to understand these things.

When the maid came into the study to tell him tea was ready, she stared at his glass of soda water till he wanted to throw it at her. He could not explain that he had left out the whisky because he wanted to please Anna, especially as he was not in the least sure that this was the kind of thing Anna wanted him to do when she smiled at him in that queer way. Oh, hang! What could he do to make it up to her?

In the drawing-room, it was being dreadfully like Saturday afternoon. His very eldest brother, the one who always gave Billy the impression of having a cane concealed about him somewhere, was standing on the hearthrug. His cousin Mary, of whom Anna once said that she was too busy doing her duty to her neighbours ever to have time to love them as herself, was pouring out tea with a worried air. Uncle Joe was glancing nervously at Aunt Emma; and Aunt Emma was holding the floor from her arm-chair by the fire. The domestic atmosphere was charged with electricity.

"For her mother's sake, I shall feel it my duty to receive her back as soon as she is well enough to leave the nursing home. Under conditions, as I said just now, Percival. But I always have, always must, and always shall do my duty," said Aunt Emma.

"That's all very well," snapped Percival. "But how are we to keep the scandal from leaking out? The servants are sure to guess, if no one else does. She has disgraced the family. You can't get over that."

"I make no attempt to get over it," said Aunt Emma. "No attempt. I state the position. I trace my course of action. No one shall ever say of me that I turned a repentant child from my door. Least of all, Minnie's child. William, come and sit down."

Billy came and sat down. Always inarticulate, he became absolutely doltish in the family circle. This afternoon, he felt he would sooner die than take part in the truly awful discussion that was going on. Unfortunately, death did not come to his assistance. Instead, he felt strangely, unusually alive to what was being said, as if he knew what was in the mind of the person who was saying it. And all the time he was haunted by an early Italian picture of a little bed in a bare room, with a shaft of light shining down the middle of it, and a small white face on a pillow, and great eyes that burnt with a fire he had never seen in any eyes before.

"Good Lord!" he was thinking as he bolted lumps of muffin and drank scalding draughts of tea. "If Aunt Emma had a vote as well as that voice, the race of man would simply have to become extinct. And if Mary had one, she'd always be bothering every man in the family to tell her what to do with it. I suppose that's why Uncle Joe is an Anti-Suffragist—never thought of that before." He thought about it now, and suddenly knew that this also was what had made Anna a Suffragette.

Uncle Joe was taking the floor, when Billy began to listen again. "What is the Home Secretary to do?" he was asking. "If these neuropaths refuse their food—"

"Exactly so," said Percival. "Much as I detest the fellow's political opinions, I feel that he has acted with tact and humanity where these misguided women are concerned. Please, Mary. The last, by the way, was much too sweet. You always forget."

Then Billy, the sweat coming out on his brow and his knees falling him, knew what Anna's smile had meant. He knew, unhappy wretch that he was, that in those few moments when he stood inside an early Italian picture of martyrdom, he had embraced the martyr's cause. Anna must have known it too. That was probably why she smiled when he wanted to know if he could do anything. Do anything! He had let himself in for doing enough things, now.

The question was, could he do them? He wasn't brave like Anna; he wasn't clever; he hated more than anything in the world the thought of making a scene, or causing unpleasantness. He looked round at the smug family scene, and for the first time he saw it with Anna's eyes, eyes that burnt what they fell on.

He stood up and set his cup on the tray with a clatter that made them all jump.

"William!" said Aunt Emma. And William said—"Damn!" Which was not at all the sort of thing that anybody ever said to Aunt Emma. But Billy gave nobody time to think about that. He kicked a woolwork covered hassock across the room, and made a goal with it in the fender between Percival's legs. Then he let himself go.

"You can jolly well keep your forgiveness, as far as Anna is concerned!" he shouted. "She isn't repentant; she doesn't want to be forgiven; she hasn't done anything to be forgiven for—and if she had, not one of you is fit to come near her! Disgrace the family, indeed! I like that. If Percival didn't disgrace the family when he was sent down from Oxford, the family can jolly well take care of itself. Anna isn't coming home to be bullied and patronised; I won't let her come. If you don't like her being a Suffragette, you shouldn't have made her one. The way women are treated in this family is enough to make them into Suffragettes—or fools! Look at Cousin Mary—"

"Sh-sh-sh! Do remember the servants," wailed Cousin Mary, entirely overlooking the slur upon her intellect.

"Servants be hanged!" said Billy, and swaggered out of the room and banged the door. His exit was, perhaps, slightly overdone. But after years of silent endurance, rebellion is apt to develop into licence.

Half an hour later he was back again at the nursing home. All his life, whenever he had done anything to be proud of, he had gone straight to Anna to be praised for it.

The pretty nurse only said he had made a good beginning, when he told her all about it on his way upstairs. This discriminating praise somewhat damped his satisfaction, which up to that minute had been immense. But Anna, who knew the full horrors of Saturday afternoon at tea-time, set the top value on his heroism.

"You're simply great, Bill!" she whispered in a small voice that had grown smaller and more hoarse since the morning. Hearing it, he winced, and understood the attitude of the pretty nurse.

"It was only a beginning," he said gruffly. Then he added with a grin—"After the family, who's going to mind the whole blooming Cabinet?"

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MILITANCY DAY BY DAY

DIARY OF EVENTS

Thursday, Feb. 6.—Protest made by Mr. H. D. Harben from the Strangers' Gallery in the House of Commons.

Pillar-boxes attacked in various parts of the country, including London, Nottingham, and Dundee; in some cases paint being used, in others black fluid; boxes in Dundee set on fire.

Friday, Feb. 7.—Writing on the wall of the Town Hall, Newcastle, prior to Mr. Birrell's meeting, and many letters in pillar-boxes damaged.

Telegraph wires cut at Coventry, Birmingham, Dumbarton (including some trunk wires), Radlett, Elstree, and Wealdstone.

Windows broken at Selfridge's (valued at £60 to £80) by Miss Sarah Bennett, and at the Union of London and Smith's Bank, Oxford Street, by Miss Margaret Haly.

Letters destroyed in pillar-boxes in various parts of London.

Saturday, Feb. 8.—Orchid houses at Kew wrecked, and many valuable blooms destroyed. Damage estimated at many hundreds of pounds.

Telegraphic communication between London and Glasgow cut off for several hours, with serious results to commercial and financial transactions.

Monday, Feb. 10.—London club windows and windows of H.R.H. Prince Christian's house broken.

Damage done at Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh. An order issued closing all galleries except upon application to the curator.

Many pillar-boxes attacked at Manchester and Preston, and in other places.

Tuesday, Feb. 11.—Letters damaged at Dungannon, Co. Tyrone, and at Sutton, Surrey, and elsewhere.

PROTEST IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

A fresh evidence of the public indignation created by the action of the Government in breaking their pledges to women was dramatically given in the House of Commons itself, on Thursday evening, February 6. About nine o'clock, during the debate on the Lords' amendments to the Scottish Temperance Bill, and just after a division had been taken, a man in evening dress entered the Strangers' Gallery, walked down the gangway to the front of the gallery, faced the whole House, and in a quiet and dignified though emphatic manner made the following protest:—

"I protest as a man against your dishonourable treatment of women. You are simply driving them to violence. A cripple woman was brutally assaulted in prison by your orders last month—"

Here he was suddenly interrupted. A couple of plain clothes officials took him by the arms; others came rapidly to their assistance, and he was hurriedly led out. Several of the occupants of the gallery shouted "Bravo!" while a few called out "Oh! Oh!" and "Sit down!" Some considerable sensation was caused among the members, who were coming back from the lobbies; and on their return to their seats, when the House had settled down once more to the discussion of the next amendment, another interruption occurred.

The Second Interruption

The second interruption was caused entirely by the officiousness of the police in attendance, who, recognising a Suffragist among the occupants of the gallery, took upon themselves to eject him forthwith, though he had not uttered a word or in any way shown intention of making a disturbance. Both were detained for a short period by the police and then allowed to leave the House.

The *Manchester Guardian* makes the following interesting comment:—"One impression created by those interruptions, or rather by the promptitude of their suppression, was of a gallery half-peopled by police in plain clothes."

The Man Who Protested

The name of the man, Mr. H. D. Harben, of Newland Park, Chalfont St. Giles, who made the courageous protest, is already well known to our readers and to all Suffragists. Until the attitude of the Government towards the Suffragists turned him into an enemy, he was a Liberal in politics, and a candidate for Parliament. In 1911 he was adopted as prospective Liberal candidate for the Barnstaple division, but resigned his candidature, last summer, as a protest against the forcible feeding of Suffragists and against the

Cabinet's treatment of the whole question of Woman Suffrage. In the course of his letter to the Barnstaple Liberal officials on that occasion, Mr. Harben wrote:—"This policy of pusillanimous persecution is not my idea of Liberalism. The bullying of voteless women by a Government that is actually proposing to widen the franchise of men is quite without excuse. Unmanly, ungentlemanly, unsportsmanlike and uncivilised, it can serve no purpose but to disgrace those who are responsible for it and those who acquiesce in it. The Liberal Party in the House of Commons having endorsed this policy, I feel compelled to make the only protest open to me by withdrawing my active support altogether from the party at the present time."

We give on this page a photograph of Mr. and Mrs. Harben, taken at a recent Suffragist Bazaar.

Ejection of Mr. Gray

Mr. Charles Gray, the Suffragist who was ejected after Mr. Harben, and who was incorrectly reported in some of the papers as having attempted to speak, wrote as follows to the *Manchester Guardian*:—

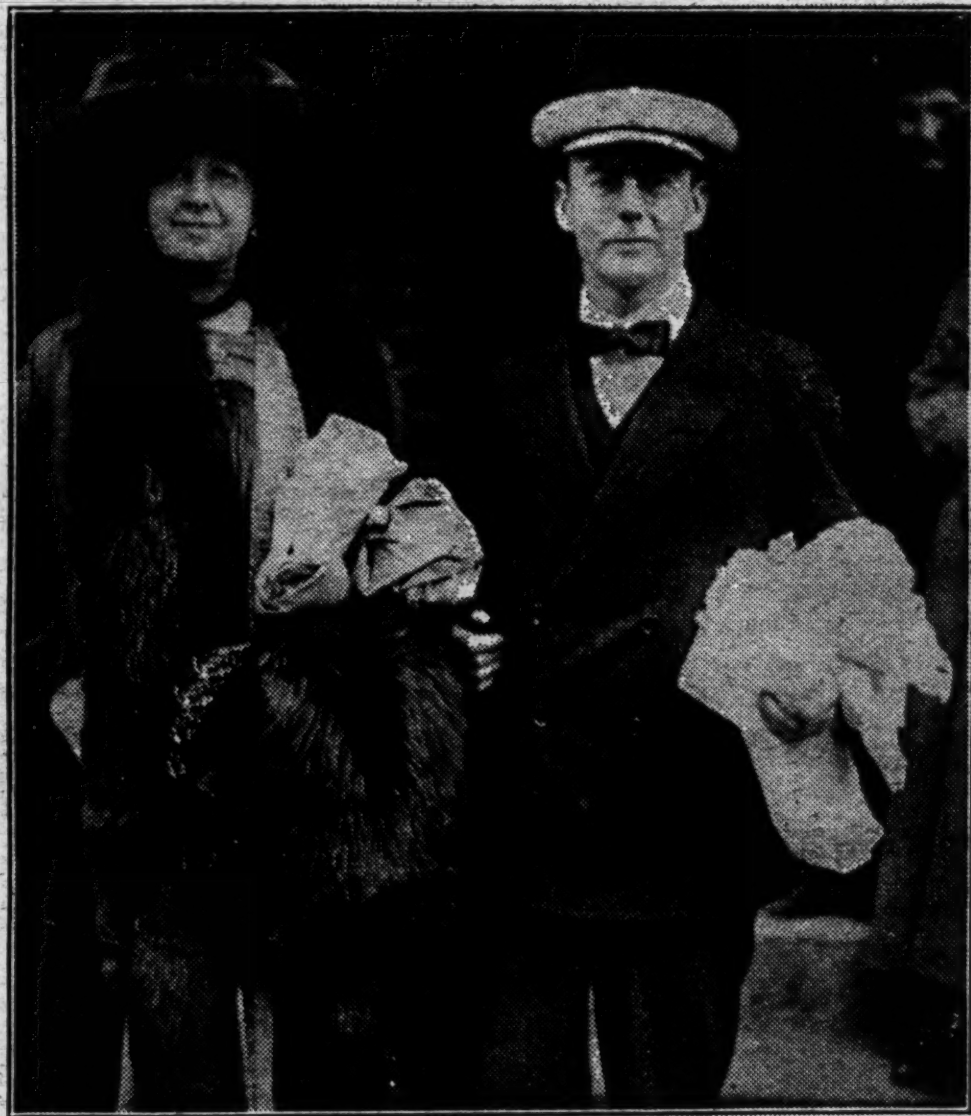
Sir,—Would you permit me to point

brought against us, were escorted off the premises.

"Upon Mr. Harben's protest comment from me would be superfluous; but the same cannot be said of the accounts which appeared in the papers, the following morning. Mr. Harben is reported to have shouted wildly and to have thrown his arms about, which only to those accustomed to newspaper accounts can give any idea of the dignified protest he actually made. Of myself, I read on Friday that I rose to my feet and gesticulated wildly as I made some remarks about Votes for Women. If I had risen to my feet, gesticulated, or mentioned Votes for Women, this might have been true; as it was, it was simply a typical newspaper report."

A PRESS COMMENT

That a man of Mr. Harben's standing and entirely straightforward and earnest type of character should feel it necessary to make a protest of this sort proves how deeply rooted is the objection to the Government policy and how intolerable it is becoming to any feeling man to sit still while women are being tortured in prison and their cause betrayed outside.—*The Christian Commonwealth.*



Topical.

A MESSAGE FROM MR. AND MRS. HARBEN

"It is not a woman's question only, nor a man's: it is a joint battle which we must fight together. The shorter the fight, the sooner will the new spirit be brought to bear on our Social Order. The longer it lasts the more complete will the awakening be."

H. D. Harben.
Agnes H. Harben.

TELEGRAPH WIRES CUT

Under the title "Wires cut—outrage attributed to Suffragettes—business delayed," the *Globe* on Monday evening said: "For several hours on Saturday communication by telegraph was entirely cut off between London and Glasgow. The authorities maintained a strict silence as to the cause of the breakdown, but inquiries in official and other quarters went to show that the in-communication had not been the outcome of the storm, but the deliberate act of malicious persons. Not only had the overhead wires been cut, but it was found that the underground wires had also been put out of gear through the blowing up of fuse boxes. Telephone wires were likewise cut. The action, which is placed to the account of Suffragettes, entailed much business delay, and enforced upon the telegraph outdoor staff an immense amount of labour. Stockbrokers did not get through a single wire during market hours, and business consequently was greatly restricted. The Suffragettes do not deny that the action was theirs."

The *Evening News* on Monday stated:—"It has been discovered that a serious interruption in the telegraph service between Glasgow and London on Saturday, at first attributed to the gale, was the result of a Suffragette 'plot' in the former city. Not only had the aerial wires been cut through with scissors, but it was found that fuse boxes in connection with the underground communication had been blown up."

AT KEW GARDENS

In the early hours of Saturday morning, February 8, extensive damage was done to a number of plants in the orchid-houses in Kew Gardens. It is difficult, says the *Daily Telegraph*, to estimate the actual value of the specimens destroyed, some of them cannot be replaced, others, by careful nursing, may be revived; but a rough calculation places the damage at from £200 to £1,000.

Thirty-seven panes of glass were broken, and the cold night air caused a number of the plants to droop. Others were torn and twisted from their pots, and the blooms were trampled under foot. A number of the name labels had been removed or destroyed, and this will create great difficulty in identifying and re-arranging the plants. In some cases those responsible for their culture will have to wait until bloom reappears before they will be able to rename them. There were some choice Australian specimens in the house.

The damage was soon discovered. Matting was thrown over the houses, and when day broke the work of re-glazing was hastily completed. Among the debris of the central gangway, it is said, were found a blood-stained handkerchief, part of a woman's satchel, a card bearing the motto, "Votes for Women," an iron bar, and a piece of paper stating that orchids can be destroyed, but not woman's honour.

The orchid-houses and another building containing tropical plants were then closed to the public.

ATTACKS ON LONDON CLUBS

About seven o'clock on Monday morning, February 10, windows were broken at several of the London clubs, including the Carlton, the Junior Carlton, the Reform, and the Oxford and Cambridge, while Schomberg House, the residence of Prince Christian, which adjoins the last-named club, was also attacked. Clay balls, pieces of lead, iron nuts, and stones were said to have been used as missiles. The damage is estimated at considerably more than £1,100. There were three arrests. The *Manchester Guardian* (London Letter) referred to the attack as follows:

The raid of the Suffragettes on the Pall Mall windows failed to disturb the cloistered calm of that polite neighbourhood. To begin with, it all happened so early in the morning that the clubs were deserted but for the charwomen and the porters, so that the women missed their chance of disturbing the semi-slumbers of important-looking gentlemen behind the day's papers. They even did the clubs a good turn in providing a mildly exciting topic of conversation at the lunch tables. All was calm again in the afternoon, and people with shiny hats came down the steps into the pleasant sunshine, and before they strolled away looked up at the windows to see which of them was adorned with a zig-zag crack. The greatest impression upon Pall Mall opinion was made by the attack on Prince Christian's windows, but by three o'clock the glaziers had finished putting in new ones there, and there was nothing to be seen beyond the fresh red putty. Passers-by found something humorous in the view of a bald held immediately underneath a big hole in a Carlton Club window. "They missed a chance there," said a street-sweeper to a friend, and he added, as the thing that struck him most in the scene, that the women laughed and joked as they threw their leaden pellets.

The *Globe* on Monday evening described the attack on the clubs as "Women's war again."

MR. BIRRELL AT NEWCASTLE

"Adequate precautions," says the *Daily News*, were taken to prevent the Suffragettes from disturbing the meeting to be addressed by Mr. Birrell at Newcastle, on Friday, February 7. When, however, the conveners arrived to take the usual preliminary precautions against the Suffragettes they found the "stable-door open and the horse stolen." In other words, they found on the walls of the Town Hall, in letters four feet high:—

"Votes for Women"

"Mene mene tekel upharsin."—"Thou art weighed in the balance and found wanting."

Other things they found were a can containing white paint, a brush, and a lady's bag with a pot of treacle, which had apparently been used as paste for the brown paper screens fixed over the windows.

MUSEUM CLOSED

The evening papers on Monday reported that as the result of an outrage, the authorities of the Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh, had had to impose restrictions on the public. A piece of electric cable weighing 2lb was thrown from a gallery upon a large plate-glass case, damage to the extent of £5 being done. The Museum was then closed.

WINDOWS CUT IN THE NIGHT

A number of plate-glass windows of shops at Erdington (Birmingham) are said to have been badly scratched during Wednesday night (February 5), supposed to be the work of suffragettes. A glazier's diamond was apparently used, and some of the cuts are so deep that it is feared vibration will cause the glass to fall out.

IN THE COURTS

Thursday, Feb. 6.—At Bow Street, before Mr. Marsham:—

Miss Jane Shortt committed for trial for damage to windows (valued at £75) and goods at Messrs. Hampton's.

Miss Editha Warwick Ball also committed for trial for damage to windows at Messrs. Baker and W. J. Tacon (valued at over £100).

Saturday, Feb. 8.—At London Sessions, before Mr. Wallace, K.C.:—

Mrs. Cohen, show case in Jewel House at the Tower, acquitted; jury unable to come to any decision.

Miss Mabel Schofield, windows at the Globe-Wernecke Co., Victoria Street (valued at £50), three months in second division.

Mrs. Maude Brindley, damage on premises of T. Lloyd and Co. (valued at £32), five months in second division.

Miss Esther Hatten, windows at Liberty's, three months.

Mrs. Louise Russell, windows at Marshall and Snelgrove's (valued at £30), bound over for one year.

Mrs. Mary Louisa Miles, damage at Allan Steamship Company's office (valued at £150), three months in second division.

Mrs. Ethel Beckett, window at Dover Street Post Office, three months in second division.

Saturday, Feb. 8.—At Marlborough Street Police Court, before Mr. Mead:—

Miss Margaret Haly and Miss Sarah Bennett, committed for trial (windows at Union of London and Smith's Bank, and at Selfridge's).

Monday, Feb. 10.—At Bow Street, before Mr. Marsham:—

Miss Jane Cooper and Miss Olive Clackson, windows at Schomberg House (£2) and at the Oxford and Cambridge Club (£2s.), sentenced to a fine of 15s. and £1 6s., or ten days in the second division.

At Marlborough Street, before Mr. Denman:—

Mrs. Grace Mary Branson, windows at the Junior Carlton Club (valued at £4 10s.), two months in the second division.

IN PRISON

In Holloway Gaol: Mrs. Branson, Mrs. Maud Brindley, Miss Jane Cooper, Miss Esther Hatten, Miss Evelyn Cotton Haig, Miss Margaret McFarlane, Mrs. Mary Louisa Miles, Miss Marie Neill, Miss Nora Newton, Miss Mabel Schofield, Miss Margaret James, Miss Louisa Gay.

In Tullamore Prison: Mrs. Cousins, Mrs. Connery, Mrs. Purser.

A DEFENDANT'S SPEECH

Miss Mabel Schofield, who was sentenced at the London Sessions on Friday last to three months' imprisonment in the second division as the result of her militant action, told the judge, before being sentenced, that she had adopted militant methods because constitutional methods had failed. She regarded the present campaign as a war by women against forces of oppression, injustice, and neglect. Every woman in the movement was a soldier and a volunteer, and ready for every emergency. The emergency was great, as the women who had worked constitutionally for years had had their hopes dashed to the ground by an unjust Parliament. "If you pass a just sentence," she remarked, "you will mule me to the extent of one farthing only."

Mr. Wallace: I don't want to send you to prison if it can be avoided, and if you are willing to undertake that in this agitation for reform you are making you will act lawfully—

Prisoner: Your views of lawful acts and mine are different. I decline to do so.

MRS. COHEN

Mrs. Cohen, who was charged at the London Sessions with damaging a showcase in the custody of the Lord Chamberlain, on behalf of His Majesty the King, to the extent of £7, represented, it will be remembered, the tailoresses on Mrs. Drummond's deputation of working women. Evidence was given that she was seen to break a curved glass case in the Jewel House, Wakefield Tower. On a piece of iron she used was a written message as follows: "This is my protest against the Government." This was left in the showcase. On a second piece of iron was a label bearing the words: "Protest against the Government's treachery to the working women of Great Britain. Rebellion against tyrants is obedience to God." Mrs. Cohen suggested that a good profit could be obtained by replacing the glass at a cost of £4 18s., the object of this suggestion, supported by a trade witness, being that if the damage was below £5 the Court had no jurisdiction to deal with her. After the jury had considered for some time, Mr. Wallace remarked that if they had any doubt about the matter they must give the prisoner the benefit of the doubt. "We are in doubt about the value," replied the foreman. "There are differences among us." They thereupon returned a verdict of not guilty.

A FALSE CHARGE

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN. Dear Editors.—Miss Olive Llewellyn, Miss Alice Smith, and myself were wrongfully arrested on a false charge of having been concerned with Miss Lambert in the

A MESSAGE FROM AUSTRALIA

(Special Cable to VOTES FOR WOMEN)

Right is Might. We ask Labour Leagues to fight for Englishwomen as Australian Labour men fought for us.

Vida Goldstein.

smashing of the America-Hamburg window on Tuesday, January 28. After having wasted a day and a half in the police court, we three were discharged, and told by Sir Albert de Rutzen that we had to thank Mr. Muskett for our freedom. Matters are coming to a crisis when in a court of justice the prosecuting counsel is to be thanked for withdrawing a false charge. It is high time women had votes.—Yours, &c.,

ETHEL THOMAS.

[Mrs. Lambert was charged at Bow Street on Wednesday, February 5, with breaking two windows (valued at £104) in Cockspur Street. She was committed for trial. Miss Llewellyn, Miss Smith, and Miss Thomas were accused with her, and discharged.]

SUFFRAGISTS AND PRISON REFORM

On Tuesday afternoon Mr. McKenna received a deputation from the Women's Freedom League. Mrs. Despard, Miss Nina Boyle, Dr. Elizabeth Knight, Miss Eunice Murray, Miss Anna Munro, and Mrs. Huntsman formed the deputation, and the following points were brought forward for discussion:—

1. The helpless condition of the very poor when charged with offences in police courts, Mrs. Despard demanding on their behalf a public counsel as well as a public prosecutor.

2. The capricious application of Rule 243a, Dr. Knight demanding first division treatment for all persons of either sex imprisoned as suffragists.

3. The extension of all privileges enjoyed by English prisoners to Scotland. Miss Murray set forth the lack of reli-

VOTES FOR WOMEN

Ladies, if we had the power to grant, you should have the Vote right away.

Please don't smash these Windows, they are not Insured.

(The above notice appears in the windows of a jeweller in Tottenham Court Road. We would suggest to the elector in question that he makes his appeal to the wrong people. He should turn it into a threat, and convey it to the Government who represent him.)

gious provision for persons of the Presbyterian faith in English prisons. Mrs. Despard dealt with this matter from the point of view of Catholics.

4. Special forms of police court administration and prison management, which, in the opinion of suffragists, called for immediate attention, some of these points being illustrated by Miss Anna Munro from her personal experience.

5. The rights of the public and the constant encroachment thereon, as illustrated by the exclusion of women from the courts, the powers of magistrates and judges in their courts, the exclusion of evidence vital to certain cases, and the necessity for women constables, women medical officers in prisons, women governors of gaols, women on prison commissions, and women counsel. These matters were dealt with by Miss Boyle.

The Women's Freedom League states that "Mr. McKenna's attitude could not be considered sympathetic by the members of the deputation. He promised, however, to inquire into certain matters, and refer certain others to the Secretary of State for Scotland."

According to the *Manchester Guardian*, Mr. McKenna remarked, "The criminal law was not framed for people like you."

FINGER PRINTS

During the whole of the militant agitation no such attempt, so far as we know, has been made by the prison authorities as that now reported to have been attempted in the case of Miss Margaret James. Miss James was sentenced on Wednesday, February 5, to six months' imprisonment on a charge of window-breaking at Gamage's. She was seized by a large number of warders, who attempted to take an impression of her fingers. She resisted with all her strength, and it is believed that if any impression was obtained it was unsatisfactory.

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE IRISH HUNGER-STRIKERS

The three Irish militants, Mrs. Cousins, Mrs. Connery and Mrs. Hoskin, sentenced at Dublin on January 28 to one month's hard labour for breaking windows at the Custom House, were joined in Tullamore Prison on February 5 by Mrs. Purser, who was sentenced on January 30 for similar action to one month's hard labour and another month in default of bail.

As we stated last week, influentially signed memorials asking for full political treatment for the suffrage prisoners were immediately sent to the Lord-Lieutenant, and meanwhile a hunger-strike was begun by the three women in Tullamore on Sunday, February 2, and by Mrs. Purser in Mountjoy on Tuesday, February 4, the day before her removal. The grim fight was kept up during the week. Outside the prison signatures to the memorial kept rolling in at the rate of about a hundred a day, and were sent up to the Lord-Lieutenant in batches as received. One batch contained the signatures of a large number of members of the Dublin Corporation.

On Wednesday, February 5, the Tullamore Urban District Council unanimously passed a resolution demanding full political treatment for the prisoners. On Friday the *Freeman's Journal* published a sub-leader (see page 289). On Saturday Mrs. Sheehy Skeffington began communication with the prisoners by megaphone. On the same day Dr. Purser was allowed to see his wife, by special Castle order, under conditions of the strictest secrecy. The same afternoon Mrs. Hoskin was released in a state of total collapse, and compelled to take the tram to Dublin without any opportunity for rest or food. For two days afterwards the gravest fears were entertained for her recovery, and she is still in an extremely weak condition, though it is now hoped that the most critical stage is past.

On Sunday Mrs. Sheehy Skeffington and Mrs. Evans held a most enthusiastic and crowded meeting, from which hundreds were turned away, in Tullamore, to protest against the prison treatment of the Suffragists. The same day the three remaining prisoners were told that they would get full political privileges on the Monday if they abandoned the hunger-strike; and, as an earnest of this, they were at once allowed to write a letter. Visits were allowed on Monday, but in other respects the Government's pledge, by which the cessation of the hunger strike was obtained, has been broken. The additional privileges conceded still fall far short both of the theory of the treatment of first-class misdemeanants, as set forth on the prisoners' card, and of the practice, as experienced by the eight Irish suffragists in Mountjoy last summer.

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE

In the House of Commons on February 11 Mr. Ginnell asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether the suffrage prisoners in Tullamore prison have refused to take food; if so, when and on what grounds, as stated by themselves; and, if they are to be fed forcibly through the nose, will he give a reference to the legal authority for this practice?

Mr. Birrell: These prisoners have refused food for several days on the ground that they have not been accorded the full privileges of "political prisoners"—a category unknown alike to the law and to the prison regulations. I have already informed the hon. member the extent to which the regulations have been relaxed in their favour. No forcible feeding has been resorted to in the case of these prisoners, and as regards the last paragraph of the question, I would refer the hon. member to the reply given to the question asked on this subject by the hon. member for the Mansfield Division on the 5th instant.

(See VOTES FOR WOMEN last week.)

MR. REDMOND HECKLED

Two men heckled Mr. Redmond at the Dublin Mansion House meeting on Friday, February 7. All women were excluded. Outside, leaflets were distributed relating to the exclusion of Irish women from citizenship under the Home Rule Bill.

Two women heckled Mr. Redmond on Monday at the opening of Waterford New Bridge, asking him when he was going to open a bridge for the women of Ireland.

A WOMAN PRISON DOCTOR

Dr. Lucy G. Smith has been appointed to the Female Prison in Cork. She is the first woman doctor to hold this position in Ireland, and is a keen suffragist.

TRUTH FROM THE PRESS

Hunger striking has been effective beyond the hopes of the women who have carried it out, and the Home Secretary finds himself on the horns of a dilemma from which he would be glad to escape.—*Nottingham Evening Post*.

MRS. LEIGH'S CASE

In the King's Bench Division on Tuesday, February 11, before the Lord Chief Baron, Mr. Justice Gibson, before whom Mrs. Leigh was tried in December, and Mr. Justice Madden (who sentenced Mrs. Leigh and Miss Evans in August, 1912, to five years' penal servitude for militant action in connection with Mr. Asquith's visit to Dublin), a motion came before the court on a case stated by Mr. Macinerney, one of the Dublin divisional magistrates. The motion in regard to Mrs. Leigh was proceeded with as governing both cases.

Mr. H. Hanna, K.C., and Mr. Hubert O'Connor (instructed by Mr. Gerald Byrne) appeared for Mrs. Leigh and Miss Evans. The Crown was represented by the Solicitor-General and Mr. Gerald Horan (instructed by Sir Malachi Kelly).

Mr. O'Connor explained that Mrs. Leigh was charged with being a convict on licence under the Penal Servitude Acts, 1853 to 1891, at large in the city district, and failed to notify the chief police officer of the district her place of residence on release from Mountjoy Prison in September, 1912. She was sentenced to five years' penal servitude on August 7, 1912, and released on September 20. A copy of licence was given to the defendant, which, counsel said, differed from what was usually given to convicts when released, inasmuch as the latter contains an abstract of statute law in addition to conditions, but this abstract was not on the copy given to Mrs. Leigh. Their contention was that the statutory obligation as to notification was dispensed with by the licence itself. The magistrate held that the omission from the back of the copy of the licence and the notice to comply with the terms of the section of the Act of 1871 was not a remission of the requirements of that section, and convicted the defendant and sentenced her to fourteen days' imprisonment without hard labour. Counsel submitted that the requirements in question were remitted by the document given to the defendant. Mr. Hanna, K.C., followed on the same side.

The Court, without calling on counsel for the Crown, dismissed the appeal, holding that the magistrate was correct in his determination. No order was made as to costs.

Our Dublin correspondent writes:—

The decision of the Court was based on a distinction between the "conditions" of a licence, breach of which would automatically lead to the forfeiture of the licence, and other "statutory requirements," breach of which would not ipso facto lead to the revocation of the licence, but would be a statutory offence, calling for separate punishment, other than the cancelling of the licence. The obligation to report to the police was not a "condition" of this or of any other licence—that is to say, failure to comply with it did not automatically cancel the licence; but it was none the less an offence against the law. The omission to include it among the "conditions" on the back of Mrs. Leigh's licence did not, therefore, amount to a dispensation from this obligation, for which a special order would be necessary. All the judges, during the hearing of the case, frequently expressed their dislike of the action of the Crown in pressing this matter, when as a matter of fact they knew perfectly well where Mrs. Leigh and Miss Evans were. "What harm was done," asked Mr. Justice Gibson, "if the police knew where she was all the time?" Judge Madden described the action of the police as "an uncalled for proceeding," and characterised the whole affair as "a trumpery case." And again he said: "There are very serious matters connected with this case, but this technical offence—not telling the authorities where she was when they already knew it and were acting on it—is not serious." All the judges also expressed their opinion that a merely nominal punishment would meet the case, instead of the fourteen days imposed by the magistrate; the Chief Baron suggested half-an-hour's imprisonment. "I presume," said Judge Madden, "that the Crown only want a ruling on the point of law." The Court, however, had no power to alter the punishment fixed by the magistrate.

ENFRANCHISED WOMEN IN ENGLAND

The following resolution, passed unanimously by the Executive of the Australian and New Zealand Women Voters' Association (London), has been forwarded to the Premier, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs:—

"We, Australian and New Zealand women, now resident in England, who deeply deplore the loss of our political freedom since coming to the Mother Country, desire to record our deep indignation at the fact that we are represented in the Cabinet by a Minister who holds such contemptuous views of the policy which our Dominions have thought fit to adopt, and our deep regret at the failure of the Government to fulfil their pledges to facilitate legislation giving votes to women. We demand the introduction during the present session of a Government Bill to enfranchise women on the same terms as men."



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12/11

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11/9

W.S. 15. Nansook Nightgown, trimmed with French embroidery and Val. lace insertion, cut square at neck. Entirely made by hand.

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NEW FICTION

"King Errant"

There are names that carry with them such a weight of romance; of terror, triumph, and futility that their very mention seems to sum up human life and sweep away the delusions of history. Timur, "the Earth Trembler," the "Great Barbarian" Ghengis Kahn, "The Glory of the Faith," "The Light of the Faith," the "Flame of the Faith"—all the Great Moguls and their ancestors, with their passions and their flaming swords, their pomps and their glories—what are they to us now? They have embossed themselves and their wine-cups upon coins, and we think of them about as often as we do of the Ptolemies; and, moderns though they were, they are more distant from us than Julius Caesar.

Mrs. Flora Annie Steel, in her novel, "King Errant" (Heinemann, 6s.), sets before us the life of the founder of the Mogul dynasty. It is a difficult thing to re-create a daily life so near to us in time, so remote in the forms of civilisation. But the Emperor Baber actually kept a kind of diary—not a very full one—and to the study of this diary Mrs. Steel has brought all her unique knowledge of India, its history and customs. We first meet Baber as a boy, playing in the flowery meadows of his little kingdom, which lay somewhere between Turkestan and Bokhara, in that shifting Central Asia, whose very place-names—as Samarkand and Ferghana—are restless with memory.

In the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century the future Emperor of India led a life of many changes. Sometimes a king, sometimes a wanderer, now full of goodness, now cruel and weak, he passed through enough adventures for fifty existences. He won kingdoms and lost them as a man to-day might win or lose a game of chess. He wore a king's robe or a beggar's blanket with equal ease; but he ended as the conqueror of Delhi and the founder of a great dynasty. The author weaves many romances around Baber's domestic life. He is largely influenced by women—by his grandmother, his sister, and some of his wives. Like the regal male, of whatever religion, he has to seek his happiness from many women; but as a good Moslem his mistresses are all his wives, housed in his palace and carefully thought for by him. The cool way in which he takes a child from one wife and gives it to another, because he thinks she would like it, is one of the many quaint, homely details. Frankly, it is as difficult to like Baber as a "family" man as it is to admire him when he massacres his enemies. Mrs. Steel's great veneration for him does not, somehow, convince the reader. Left quite cold towards Baber himself, one turns with relief to the pictures of the time and the country, which are delightful. In particular there are some charming translations of Indian songs and ballads. There is the song the Turkhomian women sing on the night march, and the ballad of the Muazzinn of Kar, who, from his minaret, sang to God while the sand-storm softly buried the city and the tower and himself for ever; and the quaint song of appeal to the cock not to crow too early in the morning.

We are grateful to Mrs. Steel for her careful study of a period which, perhaps, more than any other, the general reader neglects.

BANG GO THE GLASSES O!

Green grow the rashes O,
Bang go the glasses O,
We have no pane, dear Mother, now,
Within our window sashes O.

For Guid's sake gie the lassies Votes,
Or anything they fancy O,
Or they will soon be at our throats,
They're gettin' maist unchancy O.
Green grow the rashes O,
Another window crashes O,
'Twere better far to gie them votes
Than thole sic awfu' bashes O!

Ye Lords and Ministers o' State
That up in London swither O,
Ye maun gie in as shair as fate
Ye canna do nae ither O.
Green grow the heather O,
Never mind the weather O.
But gie the lassies what they want,
The vote and a' thegither O.

Ye'll maybe haud out for a wee
And thole their angry dunty O.
But in the end ye're shair to see
Them pu' the strings like "Bunty" O.
If they were a' like "Bunty" O,
We wad be blythe and canty O.
I'd gladly let her pu' the strings
And dance a jig to Bunty O.

They Grey Mare's aft the better horse,
Or so I've heard it stated O.
And weel deserves to vote, of course,
For so it has been fated O.
It's lang since I was mated O,
But still I feel elated O,
To think the wife's the better horse
As I anticipated O!

Then let the lassies hae the vote—
Straight be their hair or curly O!
And frae Land's End to John o' Groats
We'll end this hurley-burley O.
Green grow the rashes O,
The men are silly asses O.
Guidsakes, 'twad mak us better far
To lippen to the lassies O!

T. E. J.

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FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 14, 1913.

WHAT ARE YOU GOING TO DO?

(An open letter to those Suffragists who do not believe in militant methods.)

Dear Fellow-Suffragist,—

In the present critical position of the Woman Suffrage movement there is one vital question which concerns you. It is not "What is Mr. Asquith going to do?"; it is not "What is the Cabinet going to do?"; it is not "What is the House of Commons going to do?"; it is not "What are the militants going to do?" It is "What are YOU going to do?"

You say that you are profoundly dissatisfied with the turn which affairs have taken in Parliament; you say that you trusted to the Prime Minister's pledge and that it has proved valueless; you say that you are convinced that the promise of facilities for a private Member's Bill gives no likelihood of success, and that you demand a Government measure. Now you and I are practical people, and in the everyday world we know that the common method of trying to obtain things from other people is to "request" that they should be given to us either as a gift or in return for payment, and we do not take to "demanding" them unless we have some means of enforcing that demand in case of default. What, then, do you propose to do in this case if your demand is not acceded to?

This is not my idea alone; it is expressed very clearly in a letter which Miss Bertha Mason wrote a few days ago to the *Manchester Guardian* in reply to Miss Margaret Ashton. "Every really good Suffragist," says she, "wants a Government measure. The demand is reasonable and fair. But a mere 'demand' with no force behind it is useless. I have searched through Miss Ashton's letter to find the 'constructive scheme' which is necessary to make the 'demand' effective, and I have searched in vain. Miss Ashton says that 'her Federation would hesitate to spend further time and money in a futile effort to support a private Member's Bill.' I hesitate to waste time and strength and money in merely 'recording indignation at the failure of the Government to redeem its pledges,' and in simply asserting 'a demand for an immediate Government measure.'"

Miss Mason's conclusion is that as non-militant Suffragists have no means of enforcing their demand they must fall back on trying to make the most of the facilities for the private Member's Bill. But if I understand your position aright, you do not take this view; you hold that it is merely ploughing the sand to work for a Bill which is foredoomed to failure, and you refuse to march on unendingly towards a constant succession of mirages, each of which proves as unreal as the last. You believe that a Government measure and a Government measure alone will be of any use, and you are determined to secure this if you can. The question which confronts you is what methods you can employ towards this end.

Let us for the present put aside all thought of militancy; some of you say that you consider no circumstances would ever justify you in breaking the law or even in being personally discourteous to Cabinet Ministers; others of you, without admitting the truth of any such general proposition, say that you do not consider that at the present time you are prepared to express your indignation in any of these ways. But pressure of some kind you must exert, for it is only to pressure that politicians respond, and the one form of pressure that is left to you if militancy is excluded is political pressure. It

is not enough for you merely to do propaganda work in the country; the individual men and women in the country may be "converted" ever so sincerely to Woman Suffrage, and yet unless you lead them on to exert pressure on the politicians you will not get your Government measure for Woman Suffrage. Public Opinion is an excellent weapon, but like all other weapons it has to be directed against the foe and not merely allowed to rust in its sheath. Political pressure, then, you must exert; how are you going to do it?

Before detailing some forms of political pressure, there is an antecedent question which has to be answered—On whom has the pressure to be brought? You cannot have very much doubt as to the answer; you are demanding a Government measure, there is only one body of people who have it in their power to refuse or accede to that demand; that body is the Government, and therefore it must be on the Government that you must bring pressure. Moreover, as you have decided to confine yourself to political pressure you will realise that it is only by attacking the Government politically and preparing to give them political wounds that you will be successful. You have to try to destroy the majority in the House of Commons on which their power rests. Think as you will, you cannot get away from this fundamental law of political pressure.

If you were voters nothing would be simpler than to put this doctrine into practice by voting against Government candidates at every election which arose. This would soon bring about a change of attitude on the part of your rulers; but as you are not voters you can only attempt to achieve the same means by indirect ends. In the first place, as a preliminary it is clear that you must withdraw every kind of support which you have been giving to candidates who, if returned to Parliament, will go to strengthen the Government majority. Some of you have been giving time, others have been giving money, others influence towards the election of some Liberal friend who may be a good Suffragist; you must tell him that all this will be withdrawn until the Government, which depends on him for support, promise to introduce a Government measure. Nor can you legitimately help your friend if he be a member of the Labour Party; however true to Woman Suffrage individual Labour men may be, however friendly you may consider the Party to be as a whole, the fact remains that so long as the Labour Party continues to be an integral part of the Coalition, it is one of the pillars on which the Government rests. Help which is given to the Labour Party is therefore help given to the Government, and strengthens it in its resistance to your claim.

This withdrawal of all support from Coalition M.P.'s is, of course, only a negative form of pressure, but it is a very necessary preliminary to further action, and you can make it stronger, if you will, by enforcing it upon every member of your particular Suffrage society. It is surely not an unreasonable thing to say that no woman shall be entitled to be enrolled as a member of a Suffrage society who proposes at the same time to assist in buttressing up the very Government which is preventing the enfranchisement of women.

Having got so far you can go further and bring positive pressure to bear. You can organise electors to write to their M.P.'s (where they are members of the Coalition) and to go on deputations to them, calling upon them to induce the Government to make Woman Suffrage a Government question, and indicating that they will record an adverse vote at the next election unless this be done. You can work in various ways in your constituency, putting time and money and prestige into the scale against the candidate who supports the Coalition Government, making it clear that you do so not for ordinary party reasons, but on account of their illiberal attitude on the most important question of the day. You can, if you have political influence in high quarters, throw that influence directly against the Government in various ways that will occur to you under your special circumstances.

To these methods of strictly political pressure it is not out of place to add a form of social pressure, which cannot be called militant. If you are of social importance and a *persona grata* in political circles, you can refuse to go to the houses of Cabinet Ministers or of other politicians unless you go definitely to uphold the flag. To those who will not accord you the status of a person in the political sense, you are compelled by your sense of sex-dignity to refuse the personal gratification of your society.

Will these and other similar forms of pressure suffice? It is up to you who believe that militancy is unnecessary to prove that they will. It is up to you to show that women, while still voteless, can, without becoming aggressive as men have done under similar circumstances, secure the extension of the franchise. They certainly will not succeed unless you act not merely in twos and threes, nor even in thousands, but in tens of thousands and hundreds of thousands. And if you do not do so, you cannot complain if your sisters who see nothing resulting from your methods to make them believe in their efficacy adopt those sterner and harsher methods which alone seem to give any promise of success.

One of the Editors.

ENEMIES OF SOCIETY

By Laurence Housman

Not long ago I heard the militant Suffragists denounced—on the score of certain lawless acts which they had committed—as “enemies of society.” They had done damage to private property, and had caused serious inconvenience to the machinery of government.

Being aware that these women, however much appearances might be against them, were full of social enthusiasm, and that Society, with a very big S indeed, was the thing for which many of them would willingly lay down their lives, I disagreed with the definition. Yet quite obviously they were, by those acts, demonstrating their enmity to something, and were, to the best of their ability, dislocating what at present stands for “social order.”

This apparent contradiction can only be explained by the fact that the word “society” stands with different people for very different things. In the mouth of the objector cited above “society” meant “the established order,” with the implied corollary that the established order was good. In the case of the militants, “society” is obviously something which has not yet secured its proper establishment, and when they attack the established order they attack something which hinders the establishment of a social order in which they claim to have a directing share.

Now, my objector happened to be a clergyman; and he has only to go to church history for a very close parallel to this distinction which I am here trying to draw between society and the established order of things. He has only to take religion, which, for him, is the basis of all social order. Religion is not necessarily “the Established Religion.” Those who are opposed to a Church Establishment are not necessarily “the enemies of religion.” Many devout members of the Church of England believe that she would be better and stronger if released from the political entanglement of her present connection with the State. That is a fair matter for difference of opinion. But at the time of the Reformation, in the great struggle between the adherents of the old order and the new, men on both sides—first one and then the other—were “militant,” because to them Religion and Religion as established by law were things profoundly opposed. At that period the “growing pains” of Society centred in the relation of Religion to the State; and those “growing pains” led almost inevitably to breaches of the law.

There was a similar period of militancy in the Early Church during its time of persecution. Some Christians, including for the most part the higher ecclesiastical authorities, were “constitutional”—submissive to the ruling powers, and rather evasive of the moral problem which led others to martyrdom. Those others were “militant,” going out of their way to break and defy the law as a short cut to that new order of society which they believed Christianity was to bring about. These law-breakers were, so far as numbers went, a small and insignificant minority; a Referendum would have entirely disposed of their claim to flaunt their religious practices in public or to represent “society.” It is somewhat remarkable, therefore, that afterwards, when the struggle was over, the Church should have built up its calendar of saints largely from the names of those who had in their day been regarded as “enemies of society,” and gone out of their way to break the law and defy existing authority.

New Values for Old

Society, then as now, was going through a great transition: old values were being destroyed, new values were taking their place. The bulk of people at the time were probably not aware of it, they did not recognise that social order was in a state of flux; for the majority the established order still retained a moral sanction which the minority refused to recognise; but the Church in her official summary of that epoch has chosen out for special honour those who were militant, those who provocatively drew down upon themselves the penalties of the law, those who even went so far as to attack and destroy shrines as sacred to the society of their day as shop-windows and pillar-boxes are to our own. Read Tertullian, and there you will find that people now classified as “saints” were regarded as hooligans by their contemporaries. The reason is clear: the social order of seventeen hundred years ago is no longer sacred in our eyes; and we see plainly now that those who were “enemies of society” as then established were not “enemies of the human race.” The distinction is an important one to note.

Society, as expressed in our State institutions, is going through just as great a transition to-day as then; people of progressive and imaginative mind are quite aware of it, the dull and the reactionary are blind to it or refuse to see. And one of the developing factors of our social evolution, which has to be impressed upon the very face of government—all the more because in high places it is still denied—is the principle that the peaceful ordering of a free people must rest not upon force but upon consent. It is, therefore, the duty of social reformers to-day to

prove to those in authority that force, as a weapon of government, is a wasteful and expensive substitute for consent, and that any government which tries to substitute the one for the other has lost its claim to be treated as “peaceful government.” Such governments should be made to lose in prestige; and the impudence of their claim to dignity should be exposed.

Now, in all governments up till now, the show of force has been elaborately and expensively kept up, and the compulsory powers of the law are still, as from time immemorial, decked out with a certain symbolic pomp implying moral sanction, all very impressive to people at a certain stage of their political development. Circumstance and ceremony, or in other words “emblems of authority,” are still relied on by our rulers as an assistance in the maintenance of order; and we may freely admit that when expressive of the community's general consent, asked for and accorded, such symbols are not out of place. But they are out of place when that consent is not being asked, when it is being openly flouted and denied a place. Then circumstance and ceremony, and all that accompanying order of things over which they mount guard, are giving society a false front. The established order has then untruth writ large over the face of it; and where it is vulnerable that order, misbased, invites and deserves the blow which reveals its conditional character.

“Society” Looks On

To-day a Government which “society” chooses to tolerate stands between women and their political freedom; the women rebel, the Government puts its forces in motion to overcome their rebellion. “Society” looks on while the Government endeavours to teach once more the false lesson, so often controverted in the past, that the basis of Government is force. Society—outside the ranks of militancy and its sympathisers—accepts as exemplary and right the repeated and increasingly severe sentences passed on those who rebel; and accepting the ephemeral lesson does not insist on the remedy that shall end the wrong. In thus neglecting to demand the remedy, society—or that part of it which considers “established order” under such circumstances

to be still its due—has become implicated in the wrong. Careless whether justice is done, it expects, nevertheless, that good order under the guidance of unjust government shall continue to prevail. If order did continue, a false doctrine of what the State is, or should be, would receive confirmation; and a general carelessness toward injustice would be encouraged. So far, therefore, as force, clothing itself in the emblems of authority, parades its powers against those who are struggling for equal political rights, just so far is it well for the ultimate futility of force to be demonstrated, and the false surface of “established order” to be broken up.

Against a society which claims to combine comfort, the amenities of civilisation and the smooth workings of “representative government” with a contradictory injustice fundamental in character—against a society which looks upon so unnatural a combination as its right, militancy does direct its attack. But that is not society worthy of the name in any permanent sense—that is only temporarily established order; and where established order stands in obstinate alliance with established wrong, order must go, so that the price of the wrong may be brought home and a more truthful definition of society take its place.

When the Germans were besieging Paris the French complained because the shells of the besiegers were directed not solely against the fortifications, but against the city at large and its inhabitants. “Innocent people” were suffering, “private property” was being damaged. The German reply was, in logic, unanswerable; I give it here in Bismarck's own words:—

“If our fire,” he said, “renders residence in Paris uncomfortable and dangerous, those who recognise that fact . . . should address their complaints not to us, but to those who transformed Paris into a fortress, and who now use its fortifications as an instrument of war against us.”

Women in revolt—these so-called “enemies of society”—are to-day using precisely the same argument to “innocent people,” and holders of private property who tolerate a Government which employs the resources of the State not to expedite justice, but to delay it. “Address your complaints,” they say, “not to us, but to those who have transformed Representative Government into a fortress for men only, and who now use its fortifications as an instrument of war against us.”

“A MATTER OF MONEY”

Miss Cicely Hamilton's Play at the Little Theatre

Miss Cicely Hamilton is one of those rare writers who, while propounding a problem, do not cease to be artists. It might almost be said by the hypercritical that in “A Matter of Money,” produced last Sunday by the Pioneer Players, she has subordinated her thesis to her art and rather failed to prove the former because her characters are too human to be kept within the limitations imposed upon them by the necessity of proving it. But this is not to say that her play fails to be convincing. To us, it is all the more convincing because in the supreme situation reached in the third act, the men and women concerned behave as real men and women probably would in real life, setting at naught all those theories of existence in obedience to which, if obedience were possible, they would have behaved quite differently.

The main idea of Miss Hamilton's play is that any courageous solution of the problem of unhappy marriages is out of the question where the people concerned are without means. In “A Matter of Money,” Lucia Coventry, the wife of a wealthy man, is wholly dependent upon him; her lover, Dr. Channing, is a struggling general practitioner with a wife and child to keep. When the Divorce Court threatens him, he sees nothing before him but the ruin of his practice and starvation for him and Lucia, and also for the other woman and their child. Lucia seeks a simple solution in committing suicide on the railway line, and the curtain goes down as Channing's wife exclaims: “There will be no case, now!” But even the pathetic brutality of the last sentence does not prevent us from feeling that the poignancy of the tragedy depends, not on the close connection between economics and morality, but on the human suffering involved where human passions clash with expediency and with codes of morality. For what we remember afterwards is not that poverty prevents Lucia's lover from doing what her husband calls the “straight thing” by her, but that no amount of wealth could solve the problem facing a man who still cares for his home and his wife and child, but has yielded to a passion for another woman and made her wholly dependent upon him. And this is the highest praise that can be given to the dramatist, for it means that Cicely Hamilton has presented real human men and women and a real human situation in her play—and, incidentally, demonstrated the injustice of allowing morality or happiness, or both, to depend upon a settled income.

They are very real, all the members of the little group of ordinary people that are gathered together

in this play: the egotistical husband, with his sense of possession, his love of domination; the equally egotistical lover, more absorbed in his personal quarrel with fate than in the wreck that is being made of two women's lives; the passionate, courageous, slightly unbalanced Lucia; the commonplace, sincere, businesslike doctor's wife, and the tailor-made sister of Lucia's husband, frank, staunch, and outspoken. They were all admirably acted; Miss Sarah Brooke as Lucia, Mr. Ben Webster as Dr. Channing, and Miss May Whitty as his wife being specially good. Of the minor parts, that of the scandalmongering Mrs. Bentley became a creation in the hands of Miss Winifred Mayo.

“VOTES FOR WOMEN” FELLOWSHIP

We have to thank the members of the VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship for very much effective work accomplished this week. Some have found new stations for the display of our Posters and have secured promises from newsagents to exhibit them every week; others have done a record sale of the Paper; others have given away copies to friends, especially to Liberals. Miss Harris, who obtained thirty new members for the Fellowship last week, has continued her canvass, and has sent in fifteen new names this week again. Several special subscriptions have been sent for the distribution of last week's Paper, with its two articles addressed to various sections of the Suffrage Movement, and as a result the President and Secretary of every Women's Liberal Association in the country has received a copy, and many have sent back appreciative acknowledgment.

We cordially invite all the readers of VOTES FOR WOMEN, both men and women, to join the Fellowship, and thus to keep in touch with us; also to enter into active co-operation with us in the work of extending the circulation of the Paper, and thus building up a politically educated public opinion so necessary to the triumph of an idea for which a great political battle is being waged.

FELLOWSHIP FUND SUBSCRIPTIONS

(To Feb. 11, 1913.)

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Already acknowledged	156	2	10	Mrs. Saul Solomon...	0	10	6
Miss E. Florence				Miss Hicks	1	1	0
Harris	0	2	6	Miss Park	0	1	0
Miss M. Rylands.....	0	2	6	Profit on Vorns from			
Donation from Bel-				Leeds	0	8	0
fast Meeting	1	1	0	Miss M. D. Thompson	9	5	0
Miss F. N. Gordon...	0	5	0	Mrs. Ramsbottom ...	0	5	0
"One who has				Miss E. Florence			
struck"	0	2	6	Harris	0	2	6
Miss M. Burgess.....	0	5	0				
Per Miss MacMunn	0	10	0	Total.....	161	6	10
Mrs. Finlayson Gould	0	2	6				

THE CABINET AND LIBERAL WOMEN

Liberal Opinions on the Attitude Adopted by "Votes for Women."

The leading article in our issue last week has provoked very considerable criticism among Liberal women and others, and we have received a very large correspondence on the subject. While unable, owing to lack of space, to print the letters of our correspondents in full, we give below a selection, which we believe to be representative of the views expressed.

A LIBERAL WOMAN ON STRIKE

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—I am among those Liberal women who feel that the Government has treated our question with shameful injustice and unfaithfulness, and is totally unworthy of the support of any women; therefore after twenty-one years of membership, and some time hon. secretary of the Local Association, I have sent in my resignation, feeling that the only thing a non-militant Liberal woman can do is to strike. I only wish all the members of our Association would come to the same decision. I am ordering a copy of VOTES FOR WOMEN to be sent me regularly from my newsagent, and as a member of the N.U.W.S.S. shall give my services through that branch to help the cause.—Yours, &c.,
JESSIE M. ESCRETT.
10, Grove Road, Eastbourne.

A "PARTY" BILL

Dear Editors,—Thanks for sending me VOTES FOR WOMEN. I have been a staunch worker for Woman's Suffrage for more than forty years, and the last failure was a great blow to me.

I should much like to know how it is that I have never seen one word of censure from any of the "militants" on the ruling, the biased and unjust ruling of the Speaker? Or upon Mr. Bonar Law? What would you have said had it been a Liberal who did as either of these did? Why, to judge by past events, the life of the unfortunate man would not have been worth living.

It seems to me that you are not half so enthusiastic over the Dickinson Bill as you are over the Conciliation, and in fact you have said much against the former as being a "Party" Bill! And you fail to see that the latter is quite as much a Party Bill as the other, but it happens to be the right party for you.

I cannot express how much I deplore the militant tactics, and how, consequently, you are making enemies instead of gaining friends to our cause. Do you not realise the power of public opinion? And most surely public opinion is being turned against your futile militant methods; they are so senseless and irritating. Do you suppose that you make a convert of one person who has had property damaged, or of anyone who has had letters destroyed? You make a boast that you never do anything that will hurt a woman or child, how can you tell how far an ill deed extends? How can you guarantee that what was of great value to some poor woman was not destroyed in some of those pillar-box escapades?

I am getting an old woman, and I have seen the utter folly of doing wrong that good may come; it is a false theory, and attempting to build on an utterly unsound foundation.—Yours, &c.,

(Mrs.) FANNY ROWLAND HILL.

Rosenlall, Petherley Avenue, Bedford.

[We were enthusiastic over the Conciliation Bill because we held that it was a compromise which had a real chance of success. It was not in any sense a Party Bill; it was drawn up by a Non-Party Committee, and was held by men of all parties to be fair to all. We shall be equally enthusiastic over a Bill constructed on Liberal lines provided the Liberal party are prepared to make up to us for the loss of Conservative support by giving it the backing of the Liberal party as a whole; in other words, by making it a Government measure.—Ed. VOTES FOR WOMEN.]

NO MORE WORK FOR LIBERALS

Dear Editors,—I quite agree with all you say about the part that Liberal Women's Associations should take. I have long felt that it was time that the Liberal women should refuse to do the dirty work at election and other times, while the Government behaved so badly. I have worked as member of executive committee, hon. secretary, and vice-president to this Association for twenty-one years, and have worked hard for the suffrage cause within the Association for years. I have, however, found it very uphill work. I have been to London on deputations many times, and have got resolutions passed and sent to the members of the Government and others. I have at last quite come to the end of my patience, and in great disgust at the last failure of the House of Commons to keep its pledges to women, and at Mr. Asquith's attitude generally, I have last week re-

signed from this Association and severed myself from the party altogether until women are enfranchised. I have written to our member, Sir Alfred Mond, explaining my attitude, and to the Women's Liberal Federation Executive protesting against their last meek attitude in regretting and not calling a special council meeting to decide on policy.

I have long been a member of the N.U.W.S.S., but have now joined the W. Freedom League. I do not like the destruction of property which is now going on, although I acknowledge that militancy is necessary, and has decidedly brought the subject of votes for women to the splendid position which it holds to-day.

Disturbing "minister's" meetings seems to me to be most effective, but then the consequences to the disturbers, especially when they are women, are deplorable.

Three years ago I was strongly opposed to militancy, but the disgraceful treatment of the women both in and out of prison has quite roused me to anger and converted me, and I now refuse to blame them, whatever they do, although I cannot always approve their methods. I am neither young nor strong, but whatever energy I have shall in the future be devoted to the women's cause. Several other women here are intending to follow my example and withdraw from party politics.

I am a subscriber to your paper, and I always pass my paper on for others to read.—Yours, &c.,

(Mrs.) MARY SALMON.

Swansea Women's Liberal Association,
February 11, 1913.

LEAVE IT TO US

Dear Sir,—You say that we, the members of Women's Liberal Associations, hold the immediate fate of the suffrage in our hands, and that by taking a firm line we could secure it without delay. Why not advocate its being left in our hands in your paper? I am absolutely convinced the result would be more satisfactory, and the ultimate object of all our hopes more speedily attained. I am feeling very keenly indeed upon the subject, and no one regrets more sincerely than I do the present state of affairs. But I must say I cannot see what good all the railing at Mr. Asquith will do. I for one am convinced he is not responsible. The blame rests entirely with the Speaker.

Our Association has been affiliated to the Women's Liberal Federation for years, and I am kept well posted in the work and views of the Executive. I cannot see any good purpose to be served by calling the Council at present, and I do not consider their attitude weak. They have done the wisest thing possible.

Mrs. Lawrence advises the determined and organised questioning of Cabinet Ministers at meetings, then goes on to mention the instinct and love of free speech which is so rightly planted in the British heart. Now this seems to me inconsistent. If a man or a party hire a building for the purpose of making his views known, he has a perfect right to the sole and uninterrupted use of that building, and in my opinion it is not honest to deprive him of that use, whoever he is or whatever his opinions may be. My experience of public meetings extends over many years, and I can honestly say that I have never attended a Liberal meeting yet where questions were not invited and courteously answered after the speeches. And if that is not satisfactory, the remedy is very simple—the women can always hire the same building either before or after the other speaker, then both could indulge that love of free speech, and both could be heard, which is impossible when two people are trying to speak at the same time.

So I cannot agree with Mrs. Lawrence that this form of protest is either sound, just, or sensible. The third is resistance of the payment of Imperial taxes; I know it has been tried, and with what result? The taxes have to be paid sooner or later, in some way or other, and I have no doubt that many of those who have resisted, even in the name of religion, are wondering now if the game was worth the candle. Again I say the advice is not sound or sensible. VOTES FOR WOMEN seems to me to be a paper of one idea only, and though the one idea is urgent and important, there are many others which appeal to all women who read and think. There is no word in it of the work to be done and the many objects to be served when the vote is obtained. It is as though getting the vote is the only thing necessary for the immediate beginning of the millennium.

The matter in the paper consists largely of abuse of our Government. I am as grieved as any militant at the position of affairs, but is the splendid work they have achieved in the last six years to count for nothing? And I personally cannot understand anyone outside the walls of a lunatic asylum abusing and doing violence to their best friends, as many of these men are at present. Another reason I cannot take your paper is that it encourages and advises violence. The malicious and abominable destruction of property, much of that property belonging to people absolutely helpless either to give or withhold the

vote, and many of whom were possibly in favour of it, and the letter-box outrages which include the burning of four postmen on duty, have absolutely sickened people all over the country, and every fresh outrage alienates more friends.

You say the attacks and reprisals will damage the Liberal party. I say it will not; it will damage the cause which these people are presumed to represent. I maintain they do not represent the cause, and ask again that you will advocate its being left in our hands. And I can assure you there will be no loss of personal dignity. We shall always be worthy of our womanhood and of the traditions to which we were born.—Yours, &c.,

(Mrs.) M. WILLIS.

Broad Street, Alresford, Hants.

[We naturally cannot agree with the suggestion that the matter would be well left in the hands of the Liberal women. It rested in their hands for forty years, and no progress was made. In our experience Cabinet Ministers make it a practice neither to "invite" nor to "answer courteously" questions put by Woman Suffragists at the end of their speeches. It was their evasion of such a course, or their refusal even to make a pretence of adopting it, that led the women in their meetings to follow the example of the men, and to heckle them throughout their speeches. In the second place, our correspondent's views on free speech differ vitally from ours. We do not think it consists in allowing a Cabinet Minister, the salaried servant of the public, to give what account he pleases of his stewardship to a gagged audience, whose only remedy, if he declines to consider their grievance (as in the case of the Suffragists), is to hold another meeting of their own after he has gone. What a travesty of free speech would this be! The Suffragists neither expect nor wish to speak to an audience that cannot voice its disapproval if it happens to disapprove. Why should Cabinet Ministers enjoy any such immunity? Mrs. Willis is quite correct in saying that VOTES FOR WOMEN is a paper "of one idea." It was founded and exists for the purpose of advocating Woman Suffrage, and we recommend all women who want to take part in political work for the good of the race to devote themselves first of all to securing Votes for Women, which is the key which alone can unlock the door. When that door is once open, and we can help women to begin their real work, no one will be better pleased than ourselves.—Ed. VOTES FOR WOMEN.]

CITIZEN RIGHTS FIRST

Mrs. A. K. Shrimpton (The Cedars, Redditch), while saying she "cannot uphold the militants" (which, by the way, we did not ask Liberal women to do), adds that "the Women's Liberal Association, of which I was formerly president, has been for some time defunct; and although I have been asked to revive it, my reply was that 'although a life-long Liberal I cannot any longer acknowledge, forward or help any political party which will not recognise me as a citizen.' I think if all (women) Liberals, Unionists and Conservatives would refuse to work [for their parties] it would soon settle the question."

OUR CARTOONS

Dear Madam,—Thank you for your letter and for the copy of VOTES FOR WOMEN. I most earnestly hope for the success of your cause, and will do all I can to help, but I cannot subscribe to your paper, though I frequently buy it and see copies, as I do not like the cartoons and general abuse of the Liberal Government, from which I hope we shall get recognition, and a Bill giving us the rights we have waited for so long.—Yours, &c.,
EDITH CORELLI.

Umballa, Worcester Park.

THE QUESTION OF EXPEDIENCY

Dear Sir,—My sympathies are entirely with the strike policy. Some of us tried to organise one several years ago. We were in a very small minority. You cannot usefully strike when you are 1 to 500. You can only resign and leave the field to the enemy. This is what many Suffrage Liberal women have done, and that is why the Suffrage position is not stronger than it is in the Federation.

A LIBERAL WOMAN SUFFRAGIST.

A SOLICITOR'S VIEW

Dear Sir,—I beg to inform you that I have always opposed, and always shall oppose, giving votes to women. We do not want women to interfere in the government of their country, which is deteriorating fast enough without petticoat government. How you can as a man defend such a movement I do not know.

If you believe, or have tried to believe, that women as a class have any reasoning power, or experience of the world outside drawing-rooms or kitchens, as the case may be, you still do not know and cannot forecast what dire results may come from giv-

ing votes to millions of fickle and irresponsible creatures.

I do not think the Liberal party, however venal they may be, will for the bribe of your support, gamble with the fate of England, as faddists of your sort have the audacity to surmise.

You do not represent the women of England, but a few unsexed fanatics, equal in thought and argument to the "petrol-buses" of the Commune.—Yours, &c.,

Pearse and Rose,
Solicitors,
70, Gracechurch Street, E.C.

As you ask for criticism you have it!

CRITICISM OF MILITANCY

Finally, many Liberal women have written to us to regret the resumption of militancy and our own failure to condemn it. The following, from Mrs. J. Wycliffe Wilson (Easthill, Sheffield), is a typical criticism of this kind:—

"I should like to say how deeply grieved I am—and I know this feeling is shared by many others—that this renewal of militancy is making the cause of Women's Suffrage hopeless for many a long year, I fear. The militant action of a certain section of women suffragists had so disgusted many persons hitherto in favour of the movement that they ceased to wish to be identified with it. I, myself, have had great difficulty in inducing the members of the Women's Liberal Association, of which I am president, to consider the matter at all. They felt that it showed such want of common sense and judgment, that it led them to doubt whether, after all, women were fit to have the vote. Now that the disappointment experienced by all suffragists had modified this feeling, and many persons hitherto either opposed or indifferent to the cause became disposed to urge it again, comes this wretched outburst of militancy. It is a deep disappointment to those of us who are sincerely anxious for votes to be given to women, and the militants will have themselves to thank for the revulsion of feeling such actions cause. I recognise that there are two sections of militants, the methods of one of which is, as mentioned in your article in VOTES FOR WOMEN, in my judgment far less objectionable than the other."

[Our answer to this and similar criticisms of militant actions is that such actions would cease to occur if non-militant Suffragists, to whom these critics belong, were to render them unnecessary by a strong, united and forward non-militant policy. As long as the Government feels it can, without losing its party women supporters, break any pledge to women, so long will it continue to ignore women's passionate demand for justice, and some women will continue to break the law in despair of rousing the public in any other way.—Ed. VOTES FOR WOMEN.]

"THE ONLY WAY"

The following public appeal has been made through the Press from the Canadian Suffrage Association. It recognises the real significance of militant methods in its concluding passage:—

"Though the Dominion of Canada has only partially enfranchised her women, there is a rapidly growing conviction in the minds of her best thought that Canadian women must soon be given the ballot on the same terms as men. The National Suffrage Association is backed up by the National Council of Women, representing all the organised women of the Dominion, in demanding the vote, and there is no organised opposition to it.

"It is along the line of evolutionary progress that the status of women should be equal to that of men. Australia and New Zealand have proved that only good results have followed the enfranchisement of women, and at this serious crisis in England, when women have been driven to such extreme measures, it would meet with the approval of all civilisation to stop these militant tactics in the only way possible to stop them—by giving women the ballot on the same terms as men."

PRESS COMMENTS

It is this tameness of a Federation, who are Liberals first and women second, which encourage a Liberal Government to believe that the claims of women may always be flouted with impunity. If the Liberal women would firmly declare that they would work at no election until they had been recognised as "persons" entitled to vote, the Government would suddenly find some means of passing a Women's Suffrage Bill before the next General Election.—Common Cause, Feb. 7.

They [the Liberal women] have meekly accepted the Government's pledge, and are going to devote themselves to further work for the Government. At least the Executive of the Women's Liberal Federation has said so; but we may expect to see a good deal of rebellion among the rank and file against this attempt to drag them any longer at Mr. Asquith's chariot wheels.—Irish Citizen.

FORCIBLE FEEDING AND ITS EFFECTS

Home Secretary's Extraordinary Statement—Further Questions in the House

In the House of Commons on Friday, February 7, Mr. Touche asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether any cases have been brought to his notice of serious physical injury resulting from forcible feeding?

Mr. McKenna: The answer is in the negative.

Mr. Touche asked if any, and, if so, how many militant suffragist prisoners are at present being subjected to the operation of forcible feeding?

Mr. McKenna: No suffragist prisoner is being forcibly fed at present.

It is difficult to imagine on what grounds the Home Secretary based the amazing statement made in the first answer given by him above. If such cases as that of Lady Constance Lytton and, more recently, of Miss Billingham, to take only two out of a multitude of instances, have never been "brought to his notice," then the sooner the machinery of the Home Office, which is responsible for the omission, is revised, the better.

We cannot understand, however, how such reports as the one which appeared in the *Lancet* on August 24, 1912, and was summarised in VOTES FOR WOMEN on August 30, can have escaped the notice even of a Cabinet Minister so hedged round with officialism as the Home Secretary appears to be. It was widely commented on in the Press, and, appearing as it did over the signatures of Sir Victor Horsley, Mr. Mansell-Moullin, and Dr. Agnes Savill, should certainly have commended itself to a Minister who invariably represents himself to the House of Commons as being anxious to consider every aspect of a regrettable situation and every suggestion for its solution. If Mr. McKenna did not read the *Lancet* report on forcible feeding, we can only say that it was a serious omission on his part.

The "Lancet" Report

For the report teems with just those cases of "serious physical injury resulting from forcible feeding" which, according to the Home Secretary himself, have never been brought to his notice. "In many cases," it says, "the forcible feeding with the nasal or oesophageal tubes had been carried so far that the condition of the prisoners was so enfeebled thereby as to compel the authorities to release them under the care of a special attendant, who accompanied them to their homes and remained with them until the assistance of their friends could be obtained."

This does not sound as though serious physical injury had been wholly avoided. More definite evidence is afforded by the following passage:—"The nasal mucous membrane was frequently lacerated, as evidenced by bleeding from the nose and swallowing of blood from the back of the nose. Sometimes the tube had to be pushed up the nostrils three to five times before a passage could be forced. In several such cases bleeding continued for some days; in one case it recurred for ten days. In another case an abscess followed, with intense pain over the frontal region, which lasted for weeks after release. . . . The equally invariable pharyngitis, which was obviously of septic origin, lasted in certain cases for some time after the release of the prisoner."

"Escaped With Her Life"

In one case, say the signatories, "the injection of food into the lung actually occurred," followed by such alarming results that the prisoner "was hurriedly released next day, so ill, that the authorities, discharging her, obliged her to sign a statement that she left the prison at her own risk. On her arrival at home she was found to be very ill, suffering from pneumonia and pleurisy, due to the food passing to the lungs. Being fortunately a young and strong woman, she escaped with her life."

In another case, "an attack of functional paralysis of the upper part of the body on the right side followed the sixth attempt at forcible feeding."

We have given only a few extracts from this Report, which was drawn up after a careful examination had been made of numbers of cases; and we have chosen only those instances where the injury done was purely physical, though the effect of this barbarous treatment upon the nervous system may readily be imagined. The Report truly says: "The wonder is that so many of the prisoners retained their sanity."

"Political, not Pathological"

The Press, from which we give some extracts below, demands at recurring in-

tervals that something should be done—not to put a stop to this barbaric torture, however, but to spare the Home Secretary the humiliation of being compelled to release the women before the termination of their sentences, which he is compelled to do, because otherwise they would die under the torture. But, as Dr. Louisa Garrett Anderson pointed out in a letter which we published in our issue of July 5, the reason the women do not take their food "is political, not pathological, and the appropriate treatment is statesmanship, not the stomach tube."

Enfranchisement the Only Remedy

Things have now gone so far that it is exceedingly doubtful if the grant of political rights in prison would produce the effect required. The Government are therefore faced with only two alternatives—to release the women before the expiry of their sentences, or to grant women the vote, which would, of course put a stop, not only to torture in prison, but to the whole militant agitation. That is the situation as it stands now, and it cannot much longer be evaded.

Mrs. Arncliffe Sennett deals with this situation in a letter to the *Standard* last Tuesday, in which, giving the case of Miss Margaret Haly, now in prison, who has determined, if released, after being forcibly fed, to break the law and refuse to take food in prison again and again, the writer continues—

"She will put up this fight until she is dead or her sex enfranchised. . . . It is all very dreadful, and those who like to see spirit possessed by none but themselves will harden their hearts at this unyielding one. Let them remember, however, that they have gained their own freedom through this selfsame spirit in their forefathers, and let them remember also that no battle has ever been won without it. Let them confess, too, the truth that this is a battle—a battle waged between right and wrong, justice and injustice, an outlawed class versus a corrupt Government. Then let them reflect on what the weapons are which a woman has to fight with, and they will see she has nothing left but 'spirit.' . . . Not until the Premier gives the word are women safe, and until he does so the responsibility is at his door. The Government may break these heroic women, but will never bend them, and one thing they will never do is to break the spirit of this great movement, which has come to stay."

Miss Billingham's Case

Miss Billingham, who was released after being forcibly fed on January 18, has written to the Press to make her own case public "for the sake of any others who may be imprisoned. You will understand," she continues, "when I tell you that my nose is deformed—the mucous membrane very swollen and sensitive. . . . In prison the doctors did not trouble to examine my nose. Two doctors and five wardresses came to my cell after dark, forced my head back, and a tube of good size up my nostril. After much forcing and pain to me they found it impossible to get the tube up the left nostril, so they tried to force it up the right. The pain was excruciating to nose, eye, and ear. They then drew the tube up and forced it in again with the same result. I could not help moaning with the pain. The prison doctor then said that if I would not swallow the tube or open my mouth he would once more force the tube up the left nostril, but I heard the strange doctor, who was helping, say that this could not be done. Finally they forced open my mouth with an iron instrument, and poured the food down that way. I was deaf in one ear for a long while, and my nose bled violently after the operation. On the following day in forcing open my mouth the doctor broke one of my teeth. Could nothing be done to stop such acts?"

ANCIENT HUNGER STRIKE

In a long article in the "Encyclopædia Britannica" on Brehon Laws (the ancient laws of Ireland, the word being derived from Brethem, meaning "judge"), Mr. Laurence Ginnell, M.P., gives an interesting account of how honour was once attached to the hunger strike. "When a defendant," he writes, "was of rank superior to that of the plaintiff, distress had to be preceded by *troscad* (fasting). This is a legal process unknown elsewhere except in parts of India. The plaintiff having made his demand and waited a certain time without result, went and sat without food before the door of the defendant. To refuse to submit to fasting was considered indelibly disgraceful, and was one of the things which legally degraded a man by reducing or destroying his honour-value. The law said 'he who does not give a pledge to fasting is an evader of all; he who disregards all things shall not be paid by God or man.' If a plaintiff having duly fasted did not receive within a certain time the satisfaction of his claim, he was entitled to distrain as in the case of an ordinary defendant, and to seize double the amount that would have satisfied him in the first instance. If a person fasting in accordance with law died during or in consequence of the fast, the person fasted upon was held guilty of murder. Fasting could be stopped by paying the debt, giving

a pledge, or submitting to the decision of a Brehon. A creditor fasting after a reasonable offer of settlement had been made to him forfeited his claim."

PRESS COMMENTS

Why all these "privileges and ameliorations"? No ordinary window-smasher gets them. Why should these ladies? The law is supposed to be no respecter of persons. So the law cannot arguably have any regard for their ladyhood. What is it having regard for? If for their motive, the only logical course is to give them not "privileges," and "ameliorations," and "relaxations," but whatever treatment prisoners whose political motive is recognised are by law and practice entitled to. The course taken only provokes trouble. If these women will hunger-strike when treated as ordinary criminals, they are equally likely to hunger-strike on denial of the rights of political prisoners, however comfortable their armchairs or dainty their food. The prompt liberation of Suffragettes has made the law ridiculous. But the militant Suffragette nuisance is no longer a novelty. There has been plenty of time for the officials to make up their minds whether to treat these women according to their political motives or according to their criminal acts. When we advanced arguments in these columns any time during the past half-century—which still seem to be valid—in favour of regarding political motive, the decision was always against that view. It never occurred to anyone to suggest "privileges and relaxations" while keeping up the "ordinary criminal" theory. If this line had been adopted, it is safe to say it would hardly have mollified the men who claimed the rights of political prisoners. — *Freeman's Journal*, February 7.

In a well ordered community the first duty of the State is to ensure that the lives and property of its citizens are adequately protected and that anarchy is firmly suppressed. The present Government has not taken steps to ensure that protection, with the result that a small but fanatical body of women have inflicted grievous wrong upon unoffending individuals, openly defying the law awhile. That this is an unendurable state of affairs everyone agrees, but the Government apparently is content to leave matters as they are. It would be far better if the women would solve the question themselves. The "hunger strike" is an awkward problem, but it will have to be solved, and it is the Government's duty to set to work immediately. — *Midland Evening News*.

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE

In the House of Commons on Wednesday, as we went to press, Mr. Jowett asked the Home Secretary if the relatives and friends of prisoners recently sentenced at Clerkenwell Sessions were being refused permission to visit them.

Mr. McKenna: If the hon. gentleman refers to the ordinary visits allowed to the friends of prisoners, the reply is in the negative. The prisoners will be entitled to a visit at the end of the month provided their conduct continues to be good.

In reply to a further question from Mr. Jowett, the Home Secretary said: The Commissioner of Police states that the cells at Vine Street, Rochester Row, and Cannon Row Police Stations are not dirty, insanitary, or ill-ventilated, that the beds are camp beds supplied with clean and suitable bedding. A male warder is never in charge of female cells, a matron always being in attendance when women are detained.

In answer to a question from Mr. Jowett as to the prison vans in which suffragettes were conveyed to and from prison, Mr. McKenna said: I am informed by the Commissioner of Police that prison vans are not overcrowded; female prisoners are always conveyed in closed compartments separate from the male prisoners; when there is not sufficient room in the van the female prisoners are conveyed in cabs.

Asked further as to the case of a particular suffragist and the van in which she was brought from Holloway Prison to Bow Street last Thursday, Mr. McKenna said: The lady in question was conveyed in one van part of the way and in another van for the remainder of the journey. I cannot in reply to a question give full particulars of all the prisoners conveyed in the same van. The compartment in which the prisoner was placed was occupied by herself and another female prisoner, the charge against the latter being of soliciting. The sexes are always separate in prison vans.

The Telegraph Wires

On Wednesday, February 12, the Postmaster-General, in reply to Captain Murray, said that on the 7th inst. the underground cable between London and Glasgow was blown up; it was repaired by the 9th. There was some reason to believe that the destruction was the work of the militant Suffragettes.



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THE BROKEN PLEDGE

An Indignation Meeting

The first public meeting of the new Federated Council of Suffrage Societies, which now includes twenty-five organisations, was held at the Queen's Hall, London, on Wednesday evening, February 5. The following resolution was carried unanimously at the end of the meeting:—"That this meeting desires to place on record its indignation at the failure of the Government to fulfil its pledge, and it emphatically asserts its demand for an immediate Government measure."

Miss Broadhurst, who was in the chair, said that at this great crisis there was no lack of courage amongst the women of the country. It was true that after more than five years of intense effort, of expenditure of energy, of great sacrifice, of prison—yes, and even of torture in prison—a pledge given by a responsible Government, accepted by a responsible House of Commons, and received in good faith by responsible men and women, had been ruthlessly broken. (Cries of "Shame.") Discussing the Government offer, she declared that a measure of this magnitude should be brought in by a responsible Ministry, and no Government which could not face such a position had a right to exist.

"A Prospective Twin Brother"

Mr. Gerald Gould moved the resolution, saying it was a curious thing that people who said they lost nothing through the loss of the Conciliation Bill now said of its prospective twin brother that they had gained everything. (Laughter.) Mr. Lloyd George had gone back to the land. (More laughter.) While they were perfectly willing to see the agricultural labourer get his £1 a week, they were thinking of the poor women in the East End who did not get 5s. a week.

Mrs. Cecil Chapman, seconding the resolution, said that suffragists emerged from "the great betrayal" keener than ever before. (Cheers.) They were all united as regards their policy and their demand, and they were going to concentrate all their efforts against this Government which had betrayed them and failed in every Liberal tradition.

Liberal M.P. Silenced

Dr. W. A. Chapple, M.P., suddenly brought the atmosphere of the House of Commons into the meeting, and the meeting protested spontaneously—and so effectively, indeed, that the speaker finally had to resume his seat without finishing his speech. "I am here," he began, "to express indignation, but not to apportion blame." (A voice: "Why not?") "Because I think you should only blame where you are prepared to punish." (A voice: "Why not punish, then?") "It will pay us far better to fight on with our eyes on the future than to stay to look back to see whom we should punish." ("No, no.")

The speaker went on to say that the extension of the franchise was a function of Liberalism. "It is impossible for a moment," he continued, "to entertain any suggestion of aspersion upon Mr. Asquith's integrity." (Cries of "Shame!" and "Sit down!") In the House of Commons the Speaker only gave his ruling when he was asked for it. (Cries of "Oh!" and "Why did the Government not ask for it before then?" and continued interruption.) Not a single member of Parliament anticipated the Speaker's decision. (Laughter and interruption.)

"Justifiable to Break Pledges"

Amid the uproar that followed, a woman rose in the stalls and accused Dr. Chapple of having said to her that it was perfectly right forcibly to feed women, and it was justifiable for members of Parliament to break their pledges to give votes to women if it were not the opportune moment; and if it would hurt their party. (Cries of "Shame!") The speaker denied the charge, but the interrupter carried conviction by her manner. Dr. Chapple sat down at last, and the tumult at once ceased.

Miss Margaret Farquharson then read a letter from Mr. Bernard Shaw, in which he put the whole blame for the broken pledge upon the Speaker. Miss Farquharson said that she was glad the writer had dealt with the Speaker, as it left them free to deal with the Government. (Cheers.)

OTHER SPEAKERS

The Rev. Dr. Hochmann, of the new Jewish League, spoke very movingly on the Jew's position in the women's fight for freedom. "Too long," he declared,

"have we been familiar with the significance of the cry for justice to remain indifferent to any of its pleadings." Miss Abadam said that Mr. Asquith's latest move was to hide behind the Speaker's chair, and denounced the Referendum, as it had not the support of either of the great political parties, and "it took a thief to meet a thief." Lady Meyer, saying there were times when it was less glorious to win than to lose, added that there would be no rest in the country until they obtained that complete measure of citizenship demanded in their resolution.

Dr. Florence Willey, in the course of a capital little speech, said, amid laughter, that women asked for equal laws, and were given promise of special privilege: they asked for equal pay and work, and were given an equal income-tax.

Mr. Henry W. Nevinston

Mr. Henry W. Nevinston spoke shortly, saying it was not only the cause of Woman Suffrage that was concerned, but the cause of their national honour. Englishmen were derided for various faults, but they were generally credited with good faith. There was a saying heard all round the world that an Englishman's word was his bond. That was a great asset for any nation to boast of, but those now representing them before the world were ruining that asset. It was for those present to bring that feeling of shame home to the statesmen who had thus degraded national standards.

The Rev. Fleming Williams also spoke. "I was in the House," he observed, "when Mr. Asquith put the famous question to the Speaker. I heard the suspicious promptitude with which he accepted the questionable ruling of the Speaker, and I felt as I left that Chamber that a good deal would have to be said in explanation of what occurred before the rational men and women of this country would be able to believe that the whole thing had not been executed in accordance with a preconceived plan."

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence Called Upon

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, who was seated on the platform, was then loudly called upon by the audience all over the hall, and in response to a request from the chair made a short speech.

"I came to this meeting," she began, "not to speak, but to listen, and above all to express by my presence the joy that I feel at this Federation of Societies, because I look upon it as a new force in our great suffrage army. I, myself," she added, "as you know, uphold with my whole heart the advance section of the suffrage movement."

Mrs. Lawrence went on to say that the temper of the meeting, which was "splendidly militant," convinced her more than ever that "nothing can happen to our great movement out of which a greater good does not spring. Let us not forget that the might of this movement has procured the withdrawal of the Manhood Suffrage Bill, which was expressly framed in order to torpedo our Woman's Bill."

"Well, friends, this means we have to face a new situation. But we have to adjust our minds in order to develop a change of policy to meet the new situation. I hope that in these Federated Societies we shall find that we are not only united in our aim, but also in our policy."

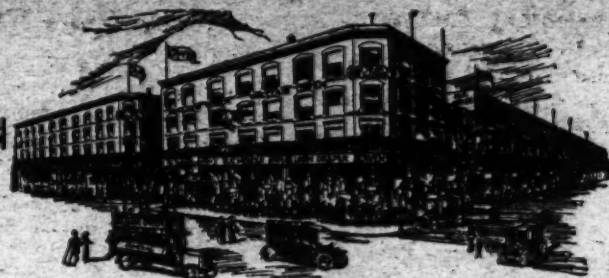
The Inadequacy of Words

"We are all spiritually militant, and the questions we have to ask ourselves, in the face of this new situation, are: Are not words only absolutely inadequate? Cannot a new way be found which will appeal to the middle party of Suffragists? Is it not time that those who are behind the advance guard should begin to consider whether they cannot adopt certain methods of militancy—militancy without violence, if it please you, as the vanguard began with militancy without violence? One such method has already been tried in Tax Resistance. There is another. I should like it to be made impossible for any Cabinet Minister to address a meeting on any subject whatever if he did not reserve at least ten minutes for answering questions or speaking on the subject of Woman Suffrage."

"Look at the words on the banners at each side of the hall, 'God befriend us, as our cause is just.' I have been recalling where those words came from. They were spoken by a warrior to warriors, by King Henry V. to his men, hungry, weary, faced by enormous odds. It really is very stirring to see these words repeated here to warriors—to women who seem to have a huge army against them."

"We have to work out our own salvation, to work harder than we have ever worked, but victory will be ours, because the spirit that inspires us cannot be defeated."

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QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE

In the House of Commons on Wednesday, February 5, Mr. King asked the Prime Minister whether he has considered the suggestion made from the Front Opposition Bench that a Committee might be formed on quasi-Cabinet lines to draft a Bill on a subject outside the usual limits of party controversy; whether he is aware that the suggestion was accepted by the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the right hon. Member for the City of London; whether he is prepared to propose new Standing Orders to regulate such a procedure; and whether, if the subject be not deemed ripe for such action, means will be taken to consult the opinion of hon. Members upon it?

The Prime Minister: As was recently stated, the formation of such a Committee is a question for those interested in the particular matter, and not for the Government.

In the House of Commons on February 6, Mr. Houston asked the Prime Minister whether, in the event of the Government introducing any Bill for the extension of the franchise, male or female, he will undertake that provision will be made for excluding from the exercise of the franchise any person, male or female, who has been sentenced to a term of imprisonment?

Mr. Lloyd George: I can give no such undertaking as that suggested by the hon. Member.

SUFFRAGIST M.P.'s AND THE NEW BILL

The different sections of Suffragists in the House of Commons have not yet met in conference, and according to the *Times*, "it is thought probable that next Session three Bills representing the different proposals embodied in the amendments which were put down to the Franchise Bill will be balloted for by the different sections."

The Unionist Woman Suffrage Committee consists of six members—Lord Robert Cecil, Lord Wolmer, Mr. Mitchell-Thomson, Mr. Ronald McNeill, Mr. Goulding, and Sir William Bull—elected at the meeting held last week in the House of Commons, when, says the *London Correspondent of the Manchester Guardian*, "I am informed that the view was expressed very strongly that a Women's Suffrage Bill ought not to be passed by means of the Parliament Act. The Unionists, unlike the Liberals, hold that the veto of the Peers should not be set aside in this matter. A preference was at the same

time declared for the scheme by which the Parliamentary franchise would be given to the women who at present have the municipal vote."

The Sub-Committee appointed by the Liberal Suffragist M.P.'s, of whom Sir John Simon has been appointed chairman, and Mr. Liff Jones, M.P., secretary, have met more than once to consider the lines on which the new Bill shall be drafted, but were unable to complete their work in time to report to the general meeting called on last Tuesday. Another meeting was therefore called for Wednesday, after we went to press.

The Labour Party conferred with the extreme Radicals, who also favour adult suffrage, last week, and have appointed a Committee to meet the other sectional committees when matters are sufficiently advanced. This Committee received a deputation last Tuesday from the N.U.W.S.S., the Women's Co-operative Guild, and the Women's Labour League.

DEMAND FOR A GOVERNMENT MEASURE

At a meeting of the Executive of the Friends' League for Women's Suffrage the following resolution was passed:—

"This meeting considers the offer of facilities for a private members' Bill next session is wholly inadequate to meet the situation caused by the ruling of the Speaker on the Franchise Bill, and that nothing can now fully redeem the Prime Minister's pledges except the introduction of a Government measure for the enfranchisement of women."

MINERS AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE

In reference to a belief which is current in some quarters that the miners may split the Labour Party on the question of Woman Suffrage, the following statement which appeared in the *Labour Leader* on February 7 is interesting:—

"Opinion among the miners has made considerable progress on the question of Woman Suffrage during the year, but, unfortunately, at the preliminary Conference of the miners' delegates, when our attitude towards the various resolutions on the agenda was discussed, we did not reach the franchise motions. Because of this our vote was withheld, but the probability is that our vote would have been given in favour of instructing the Parliamentary Party to fight strenuously against any Bill which does not extend the franchise to women. So far as the Scottish miners are concerned, they were instructed by their organisations to press upon the Miners' Federation the policy of uncompromising opposition to any Manhood Suffrage Bill."

ROBERT SMITH
(President of the Miners' Federation).

ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY Women Fellows Elected

The recent decision of the Royal Geographical Society to admit women as Fellows has been quickly acted on. Out of twenty-six new Fellows, sixteen are women:—

Mrs. John Annan.	Miss A. J. Head.
Miss Emma Bell.	Mrs. Longstaff.
Miss Gertrude Bell.	Mrs. Henry Paget.
Mrs. Annie Candler.	Miss A. Rodocanachi.
Miss Christie.	Mrs. W. E. Scott.
Miss Fielding.	Miss S. N. Taylor.
Mrs. M. S. Fox.	Mrs. Olive Temple.
Miss Mabel Fraser.	Miss Vaughan.

RUSSIAN WOMEN AND THE BAR

In view of the approaching battle in the English Courts over the admission of women to the legal profession, a special interest attaches to the recent action of the Russian Council of Empire in throwing out by 84 votes to 66 the Bill sent up from the Duma to allow Russian women to become barristers. This, says the St. Petersburg correspondent of the *Times*, "has revived an interesting controversy. The advocates of the measure suggest that an Assembly which sanctioned the admission of women to the benefits of higher education might have been expected to provide them with an opportunity of turning their training to account."

They might, indeed! But then, what of those British politicians, on whose side the *Times* has ranged itself, who do not hesitate to exhort women to train themselves in the business of electioneering without giving them the right to turn that training to account by casting their own vote? It is so much easier to see injustice to women when it is done in another country!

WOMEN IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT

A Bill to extend the Local Government franchise to the wives of qualified voters has been prepared by anti-suffragist M.P.s, and was introduced in the House of Commons on Wednesday by Mr. Arnold Ward. It is stated in the Press that its object "is to provide a female electorate to which at some future time the question of voting at Parliamentary elections might be referred."

What Gilbertian jest is this?

WAR MEDAL FOR A WOMAN

The South African War Medal has just been awarded by the Secretary for War to Miss Mary Murray, daughter of the late General Sir John Murray, K.C.B., "in recognition of the very valuable services which she rendered to the Army." "Miss Murray would have made as fine an officer for the regular Army as she has done for the Salvation Army," Major Perry, of the Salvation Army, said to a Press representative when speaking of her work in connection with the Salvation Army Naval and Military League, of which she is head.

WOMEN FINANCIERS

The New York suffragists will shortly open a National Suffrage Bank, to be entirely managed and controlled by women.

WOULD HE HAVE THE PLUCK TO HUNGER-STRIKE?

After being chased down Kingsway by a policeman and one of the staff at Lincoln's Inn House, a young man named Hills was charged before Mr. Marsham at Bow Street on Tuesday with wilfully breaking a window at the offices of the Women's Social and Political Union. Miss Winifred Virtue gave evidence as to the amount of damage done (2s. 6d.).

In reply to the magistrate, the prisoner said that he disagreed with a cartoon exhibited in the window of the W.S.P.U., and made use of a Suffragist argument. The Magistrate: You had no business to break their windows.

The Prisoner: They have no business to break other people's windows.—No, but you had better not adopt their methods. You must pay a fine of five shillings and the damage done. What is the alternative, your worship?—Seven days. The Prisoner (smiling): I think I had better pay the fine then. (Loud laughter.)

PRESS HUMOUR

(From the "Globe")

The Canadian Pacific Railway Company, having boarded up their windows in Cockspur Street, have posted the notice, "We are looking for settlers, not Suffragettes." Unfortunately for us, the Suffragettes are settlers.

A headline:—

"SPRING IN SHOP WINDOWS."

Not the Suffragettes again, we hope.

(From "Punch")

Not content with their recent postponements, the Government has decided to shelve the Bee Disease Bill until next session. The sticky substance recently found in a pillar-box "not a hundred miles from" Downing Street is said to have been honey.

CORRESPONDENCE

ASSAULT ON MRS. DRUMMOND.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—I should be glad if any woman who saw the assault on Mrs. Drummond by the police, or who saw any of the other women assaulted on the evening of Tuesday, January 28, would communicate with me at the address below. Thanking you for kindly inserting this letter, yours, &c.,

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

3, Cambridge Studios, 42, Linden Gardens, W.

LANSBURY ELECTION FUND.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Sir,—

"Muscle and pluck for ever!"—(Walt Whitman).

I have read all contained in November 15 issue of VOTES FOR WOMEN concerning Mr. George Lansbury.

Please receive enclosed order for 5s., with heartiest good wishes.—Faithfully yours,

JOHN WEBSTER.

Bowland, South Gippsland, Australia.

THE FELLOWSHIP.

I am sending a contribution for the Fellowship; it is my subscription to the W.L.A., but I withheld it until we knew the fate of the Reform Bill.—"ONE WHO HAS STRUCK."

Canvassing from house to house, and placing our claims before those with whom I came in contact, the result has been thirty new members for the Fellowship. Each has promised to push and distribute VOTES FOR WOMEN amongst their friends, and on every occasion to support the women's cause. The circulation of the paper has wonderfully increased, and consequently more posters are exhibited.

Having read in this week's VOTES FOR WOMEN of the splendid work Miss Boulting does by selling so many papers, I have resolved to make a still greater effort to sell more. I only have about two hours each week-end in which I can sell (the times between catching my trains), but I have twenty minutes on a Monday morning and I shall endeavour to sell a few more then. I will do my best to extend the sale of VOTES, and to help in any other way possible to me.

COMING EVENTS

The Play Actors announce two performances of Björnson's play, "A Gauntlet," at the Court Theatre on Sunday, February 16 (for subscribers), and on Monday, February 17 (for the general public). Thirty years ago the play was suppressed in Norway, on the ground that its plain speaking tended to "set our young girls against the holy institution of matrimony." The translation now to be produced is by Mr. Farquharson Sharp. The cast will include Mmes. Ernita Lascelles, Phyllis Manners, Winifred Mayo, Elizabeth Rosslyn, H. K. Ayliff, Messrs. James Berry, A. M. Heathcote, Charles Vane, and Jackson Wilcox.

The Rev. C. Hinscliffe will address meetings of the Church League for Women's Suffrage at Devises on February 17. Bath on February 18, and at Bayswater (Elysée Rooms) on February 19, when Miss Maud Royden will also speak.

The Women Writers' Suffrage League is arranging for a meeting on Wednesday, February 19, at the Suffrage Club, 3, York Street, St. James', from 3.30 to 5.30. Mrs. Herbert Cohen will act as hostess, and Mrs. St. Clair Stobart, whose account of her experiences with the Women's Sick and Wounded Convoy Corps in the Balkan war we published last week, will speak on that subject. Mrs. Flora Annie Steel, President of the League, will take the chair.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will speak on "Sweated Labour and the Vote" at the Corn Exchange, Petersfield, on Thursday, February 20, at 8.15 p.m. The meeting will be under the auspices of the Petersfield Woman's Suffrage Society, and the Rev. C. Hinscliffe will take the chair.

We are asked to announce that Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will preside at a re-union dinner of the Deputation of February, 1909, at the Quadrant Restaurant, Regent Street, on February 24, at 7.30 p.m. Members are requested to address all communications to Miss M. E. Thompson, 10, Stanley Gardens, Hampstead, or Miss Daisy Solomon, 98, Sumatra Road, West Hampstead.

The International Suffrage Shop will hold a Mi-carême Carnival Party from 3 p.m. till 12 on Saturday, March 1, at the Caxton Hall. Admission, 6d. There will be no speeches, we are informed, and nothing to buy.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence will speak at a meeting of the Forward Cymric Suffrage Union in the Essex Hall, Essex Street, Strand, on Monday, March 3, at 8 p.m.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence will speak at a meeting of the Cambridge University Fabian Society on Thursday, March 6, at 8.15 p.m.

SUFFRAGE DIRECTORY

- Actresses' Franchise League,
2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.
- Artists' Suffrage League,
259, King's Road, S.W.
- Australian and New Zealand Voters' Association,
9, Grafton Street, W.
- Catholic Women's Suffrage Society,
55, Berners Street, Oxford Street, W.
- Church League for Women's Suffrage,
11, St. Mark's Crescent, Regent's Park, N.W.
- Civil Service Suffrage Society,
39, Aberdeen Road, Highbury.
- Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association,
48, Dover Street, W.
- Federated Council of Women's Suffrage Societies,
16, St. James' Street, S.W.
- Free Church League for Women's Suffrage,
2, Holmbury View, Upper Clapton.
- Forward Cymric Suffrage Union,
53, Wandsworth Bridge Road, S.W.
- Gymnastic Teachers' Suffrage Society,
2, York Place, Oxford Road, Manchester.
- International Women's Franchise Club,
9, Grafton Street, W.
- Irish League for Woman Suffrage,
Emerson Club, 13, Buckingham Street, W.C.
- Irishwomen's Franchise League,
Ancient Concert Buildings, Gt. Brunswick St., Dublin.
- Irishwomen's Reform League,
29, South Anne Street, Dublin.
- Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation,
29, South Anne Street, Dublin.
- Irishwomen's Suffrage Society,
27, Donegal Place, Belfast.
- Irishwomen's Suffrage and Local Government Association,
125, Leinster Road, Rathmines, Dublin.
- Jewish League for Woman Suffrage,
32, Hyde Park Gardens, W.
- London Graduates' Union for Woman Suffrage,
Chester Gate, Ealing.
- Men's Federation for Woman Suffrage,
23, St. Paul's Chambers, Ludgate Hill, E.C.
- Men's League for Woman Suffrage,
136, St. Stephen's House, Westminster.
- Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement,
13, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.
- Men's Society for Women's Rights,
141, St. Stephen's House, Westminster.
- National Industrial and Professional Women's Suffrage Society,
5, John Dalton Street, Manchester.
- National Political Reform League,
16, St. James' Street, S.W.
- National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies,
14, Gt. Smith Street, Westminster, S.W.
- New Constitutional Society for Woman Suffrage,
3, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge.
- People's Suffrage Federation,
31-2, Queen Anne's Chambers, Tothill St., S.W.
- Scottish Federation for Women's Suffrage,
Sunwick, Berwickshire, N.B.
- Suffrage Atelier,
6, Stanlake Villas, Shepherd's Bush, W.
- Suffrage Club,
3, York Street, St. James's.
- Suffragists' Vigilance League,
49, Queen Victoria Street, E.C.
- Women's Freedom League,
1, Roberts Street, Adelphi, W.C.
- Women's Social and Political Union,
Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.
- Women Teachers' Franchise Union,
27, Marillo Road, Lee, S.E.
- Women's Tax Resistance League,
10, Talbot House, St. Martin's Lane, W.C.
- Women Writers' Suffrage League,
Goschen Buildings, Henrietta Street, W.C.

"A PATRIOT"

Congratulations to Mr. A. Pearce—"A Patriot" of VOTES FOR WOMEN—on winning the first prize in the International Horse Show Poster Competition, for which there were 300 entries.

A CORRECTION

A misprint occurred in Miss Buckton's account of St. Bride, published in our Correspondence columns on January 31. In the story of the encounter between St. Bride and the obstreperous youth, an old chronicler was misquoted. The words should have been, "Therefore is it that the companionship of the world's students is evermore with Bride."

A cup of hot soup when one arrives home cold and tired is a very comforting thing, and it can be made very simply with one of Pittman's "Vegal" preparations.

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WOMAN SUFFRAGE MEETINGS.

LONDON SOCIETY (N.U.W.S.S.).—Public Reception, February 14, 3.30-6.15.—Miss Frances Sterling, Miss Courtney, Philip Snowden, Esq., M.P.

CHURCH LEAGUE, PADDINGTON
Branch, Elysee Galleries, Queen's Road, Bayswater. Wednesday, February 13, 8.30 p.m. Miss Maude Heyden on "Social Purity." Chairman, Rev. O. Hinchliff. Admission free. Reserved seats, 1s. or 6d., from Mrs. Cooper, 8, Warwick Avenue, Paddington.

"Q.V.I."—Work Mrs. Despard's meeting at Helys, Cheshire; also apply for and distribute our "Poster Campaign" forms.—Sec., Mrs. Bentinck, 78, Harley Street, W.

HELP SWEATED WOMEN.—Suffragists are asked to keep open the evening of March 7 for the Great Anti-Sweating Demonstration at Queen's Hall. All sweated trades represented.—Full particulars next week.

WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE holds public meetings every Wednesday afternoon at Cannon Hall, Speakers, February 19th, Mrs. de Fontblanque, Miss Boyle, and others. The chair will be taken promptly at 3.30. Admission Free.

SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS.

WILL Lady who inadvertently took gun-metal, crook-handled umbrella at Mrs. Chapman's reception on January 28 kindly communicates with Miss Shedden, 3, Cecil Court, South Kensington?

BOARD RESIDENCE, Etc.

ABSOLUTE Privacy, Quietude, and Refinement, no extras. At the Strand Imperial Hotel, opposite Gaiety Theatre, ladies will find the freshest, warmest, daintiest, cosiest quarters; sumptuous bedroom, with h. and c. water fitted; breakfast, bath, attendance, and lights from 5s. 6d.; en pension 8s.; special terms for long stay; finest English provisions.—Manageress, 4788 Gerrard.

BOARD - RESIDENCE for Students, visitors to London, and others; moderate terms; comfortable, clean, central.—Miss Kilbey, 5, Guilford Street, Russell Square.

BOARD-RESIDENCE, Golder's Green, close station; lady or gentlemen, engaged during day; bed, breakfast, 15s. 6d.; other meals as required.—Mrs. White, 24A, Parade Mansions.

BRIGHTON. — TITCHFIELD HOUSE, 21, Upper Rock Gardens, off Marine Parade. Good table, congenial society. Terms from 25s.—Mrs. Gray, Member W.S.P.U.

CHATEAU D'OEX, SWITZERLAND.—Winter sports; fine climate. Small, comfortable English pension. Terms 6-8 francs.—Miss Lawrence Taylor, Les Météz.

FOLKESTONE.—"Trevarra," Bouverie Road, W. Board-residence, excellent position, close to sea, less, and theatre; separate tables; moderate terms; private apartments if required.—Miss Key (W.S.P.U.)

GUESTS received in Lady's Country House; good cooking, vegetarian if required; indoor sanitation; hot baths; home comforts; south aspect; tracing.—Box 266, Votes for Women, 47, Red Lion Court.

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LONDON.—Hostel for Ladies, 31, Oakley Square, N.W. Bed and breakfast, 2s. 6d.; bed-sitting-room and breakfast, 11s. 6d. weekly; full board optional; moderate; central, comfortable.

LONDON, W.C. (113, Gower Street).—Refined HOME (ladies). Bed, breakfast, dinner, and full board Sundays (cubicle), from 15s. 6d. Rooms, 19s. 6d. Full board, 17s. 6d. to 25s. Gentlemen from 19s. 6d.

PARIS.—French Lady and Daughter, professor, receive two ladies as paying guests; bright apartments, beautiful prospect on the Luxembourg Gardens.—Mme. Delcay, 15 rue Royer-Collard.

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SUFFRAGETTES, keep well and fit by spending your week-ends at Brighton. Comfortable Board-residence at Miss Turner (W.S.P.U.), Sea View, Victoria Road. Terms Moderate, Nat. Tel. 1702 Brighton.

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TO SUFFRAGIST SPEAKERS.—Miss ROSA LEO, Honorary Instructor in Voice Production and Public Speaking to the W.S.P.U. Speakers' Class, requests those desirous of joining her private classes or taking private lessons to communicate with her by letter to 45, Ashworth Mansions, Elgin Avenue, W. Separate classes for men. Mr. Israel Zangwill writes:—"Thanks to your teachings, I spoke nearly an hour at the Albert Hall without weariness, while my voice carried to every part of the hall."

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SUNBEAM TEA, 3lb for 6s. Finest Irish tea, 10lb, 10s. 6d.; half ham, 5s. 5d.; all post paid U.K.; trial solicited.—Robert Coulter, Sligo.

MISCELLANEOUS.

BLOUSES, BLOUSES, BLOUSES.—Any number of Cast-off Blooses wanted. The extreme value remitted.—Miss Kate Cutler, 24, Sunninghill Road, St. John's, Lewisham.

BONELESS CORSETS.—New invention, unbreakable. Lists free.—Write, Knitted Corset Co., Nottingham.

CHAPPEL PIANO, iron frame, small, for flats; bargain.—11, Parkhurst Road, Holloway.

DRINK SALUTARIS. Health-giving Table Water. Distilled. Absolutely pure and free from all microbes; Aerated or Still. Unrivalled for gout and rheumatism. Ask your grocer or write Salutaris Company, 236, Fulham Road, London, S.W. (mentioning this advert).

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HAIR FALLING OFF.—Lady who lost nearly all hers, and has now strong, heavy growth, sends particulars to anyone enclosing stamped, addressed envelope.—Miss V. W. Field, Glendower, Shanklin.

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"Votes for Women."

Published every Friday at 4/7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

EDITED BY Mr. & Mrs. PETHICK LAWRENCE.

To

THE CIRCULATION MANAGER, "VOTES FOR WOMEN," 4/7, RED LION COURT, FLEET STREET, E.C.

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